

RESEARCH SOCIETY FOR VICTORIAN PERIODICALS

FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

UNIVERSITY OF SALFORD

JULY 12TH . -13TH . 2013

It is with considerable pleasure that I welcome you to the University of Salford and to the Annual Conference of RSVP. The conference aims to take advantage of the many resources and pleasures offered by the Manchester/Salford conurbation as well as to provide two days of both intellectual stimulation and pleasurable sociability.

Events of this kind require extensive collaboration and exchange of ideas, and I would like here to thank the many people whose hard work and good sense has underpinned the planning and execution of the conference.

The Conference Committee, comprising Margaret Beetham, Natalie Houston and Annemarie McAllister, and chaired by Margaret, has worked long and hard to assemble a coherent and wide ranging programme out of the many varied and interesting proposals for papers that we received.

At the University of Salford our greatest debt is to Vicky Beckett from the University's Events team who, together with her colleague Clare Foster, has dealt with the administration and day to day management of the Conference with enormous efficiency, good grace and cheerfulness. I would also like to thank a number of colleagues from my old Department and School at the University of Salford, especially Peter Buse, Kristin Ewins, Jen Morgan, Alison Morgan and Janice Allan, as well as a range of helpers from the Catering and Print Departments of the University.

My new base, Liverpool John Moores University, has provided a range of help and advice, and I would like to thank Glenda Norquay, Andy Young and Joe Yates in particular for their interest and practical support.

Three unique libraries generously opened themselves to us for visits, and I owe particular debts of gratitude to Michael Powell at Chethams Library, Lynette Cawthra at the Library of the Working Class Movement and Emma Marigliano at the Portico Library. All three libraries have a long tradition of welcoming readers, and I am grateful that we have been able to take advantage of this generosity of spirit.

The Conference has been generously supported by a number of sponsors, and their contribution has made a considerable difference to what we have been able to offer delegates. Seth Cayley from Gale Cengage Publishers, Professor Andy Young, Director of Research at Liverpool John Moores University, Professor Sandro Jung from the Centre for the Study of Text and Print Culture, University of Ghent, and Usha Wilbers on behalf of the European Society for Periodicals Research have all facilitated donations to the Conference from their organisations, and I would like to thank them for their support and generosity.

The conference receptions are being held in two of the many places that make Salford and Manchester such a good base for scholarly life, and I am grateful to both the People's History Museum and Salford Museum and Art Gallery for allowing us to eat and drink there, and to glimpse their wonderful collections.

On behalf of all of us involved in the Conference, I would like to welcome you to Salford, and I hope you enjoy the conference.

Brian Maidment

Liverpool John Moores University.

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

Research Society for Victorian Periodicals 2013

Alexiou, Artemis (Manchester Metropolitan University)

The *publisher's peritext* in women's periodical press [England, c. 1891-1939]: non-textual materials and their association to gender.

By the late 19th century, periodicals have reached a new level of intelligence both in terms of design and marketing. Advertisements and editorial material now co-existed in the same page, the majority of working class women had access to a range of magazines and print allowed mass production as well as the exploitation of new markets (Ballaster, 1991, pp.80-92). The theme presented in this paper is part of a larger interdisciplinary PhD project - which seeks to highlight the importance of interdisciplinary studies in furthering the understanding of diverse communication practices used in print media – and is particularly focusing on commercial and special interest magazines for women published in England [c. 1891-1939].

Inspired by Gérard Genette's philosophical framework; which suggests that "[...] one must bear in mind the paratextual value which can belong to other types of expression: iconic, material [...] or purely factual [...]" (Genette, 1991), this paper deliberates gender representation by interpreting the publisher's peritext and considers whether or not visual communication practices effectively constitute a broad indictment of gendered interests. The paper raises questions hitherto neglected about the influence of gendered ideologies on paratextual choices applied on print communication practices and therefore the case study presented here concentrates on the: format; cover design; typography; illustration and page layout of the two publications.

Print has been frequently gendered but graphic design history has mainly considered print media communication practices in non-gendered ways. Focusing mainly on contemporary mainstream magazines, existing studies [Barnard, 2006; Aynsley & Forde, 2007] within graphic design are usually general overviews which focus solely on design practice from a practitioner's perspective. Outside the graphic design field, there is an extensive interest in women's magazines concerning gender [Beetham, 1996; Beetham, 2001; Brake, 2001; Brake & Demoor, 2009; Brake et al., 2000; Brake et al., 1990; Fraser et al., 2003; Onslow, 2000; White, 1970 to name a few] but these studies engage almost exclusively with literary, sociological and/or market-oriented discourse. Conversely, this paper is an enquiry into the visual communication systems utilized by late 19th Century periodicals and the manner they are comparable. The paper also identifies the visual communication systems employed by periodicals of this period, the way in which these systems compare and the manner they correspond or contradict with each other and to what extent and in what respect are publications of this kind gendered.

The case study is the tool of enquiry and the comparison the method of enquiry; for only through a comparative approach the research questions could be answered extensively. The case study takes place after 1891, during which year Morris Kelmscott Press published the first mass-produced book (Hollis, 1994, p.25) and Alfred Harmsworth formed the Periodical Publishing Company. The data analysis concentrates on graphic design utilization in relation to gender and the ways it concurs or differs for the two individual publications whilst concentrating on: visual communication; target group; originality; popularity and content. Industry dynamics together with political, marketing, financial and cultural influences of the period are also taken into consideration, as are the trends of the time on social class, advertising, readership and economic value.

Beetham, Margaret (University of Salford)

**Time and Time Again: Towards a Theory of the Periodical?
See Mussel. James, Panel 'What's the Use of Theory?'**

Boman,Charlotte (Cardiff University)

‘[Peculiarly] marked with the character of our own time’: Photography and Family Values in Victorian Domestic Journalism

The focus of this paper is the treatment of photography in selected articles published in *Household Words* and *All the Year Round* between the early 1850s and the early 1870s, a period in which both media emerge as key mediators of Victorian domestic ideology. I mean to approach the mid-century debate on photography in family periodicals as taking place in a specific discursive field that demands attention in its own right, a site in which the photographic discourse interacts with the concerns and interests of its familial readership. This methodology has a number of implications: it shifts the primary emphasis from the scientific and technological aspects of the medium, but more importantly, marginalises the already well-charted dispute concerning photography’s status as an art form. Instead, these articles can be clearly distinguished by their pragmatic approach and by the tendency to weave into the photographic commentary, topics examined elsewhere in these publications.

However, the period under scrutiny here manifests itself as a highly complex, transitional phase during which the great epoch of domesticity converges with commodity culture and the ever-expanding field of mass communication. Indeed, as contemporary criticism suggests, many articles in the domestic press testify to the challenges involved in yoking together the conflicting impulses of the modern age. But how is that reflected in the approach to photography in family periodicals? In particular, how does this ideological complexity play out in the photographic observations in *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*? Certainly, the evanescent, metropolitan and in some sense progressive spirit of photography, did not always sit comfortably with the inward-looking traditionalism of middle-class domestic values. Its modish initiatives appear curiously double-edged, simultaneously visually propping up domestic idealism, whilst increasingly urging the familial unit outwards, into the streets and towards modernity. Against the background outlined above, I am proposing that the domestic press offers a particularly intriguing and complex forum for gauging the impact of this new visual technology on the established tenets of Victorian domestic ideology.

Brake, Laurel (Birkbeck College, University of London)

1865: ‘All Change’?

This is a paper about the episteme of the mid 1860s. the disruptions and continuities and how they in turn helped determine the formation of the ‘new’ in the media. Three new titles cluster around the middle of this decade, on which this paper will focus – the evening daily newspaper, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which combined newspaper and review contents; the new look Review/Feuilleton, the politically unaligned *Fortnightly* (15 May 1865); and a new monthly Review, the *Contemporary* (1866) with a religious orientation.

Around and before them hover a cluster of significant eclipsed titles – the reformist weekly *Leader* (d.1860), quarterly/semi annual *National Review* (d. 1864) which in turn emerged from the *Prospective*, the *Home and Foreign Review* (d. 1864), built on the embers of the Roman Catholic *Dublin Review*, and traditional Reviews such as the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* discredited by the *Times* in the late 1850s and early 1860s as ‘matronly’.

At the same time, an invigorated genre of monthly magazines –cheap and featuring fiction, had emerged five years previously in *Macmillan’s* and the *Cornhill*, rivalling the older and more expensive *Blackwood’s* and *Fraser’s*, and making the monthly frequency dominate the periodical market. They were examples of spectacular success, from which the 1865 generation could learn, and in the case of the latter, with evidence of a marvellously enlarged readership for the press to tap, women responding to this feminised serial product. Two of the three new titles took note. Similarly popular, in France, was *La Revue des deux Mondes*, a fortnightly but long-established serial, combining news, fiction, and signature, that Francis Espinasse, a 19C British journalist, claimed had long been in the offing in Britain as a model for a new title.

My argument is that the forms and concepts that the new titles took emerged meaningfully as a group out of recently defunct titles and experiments such as the *Leader*, the *Home and Foreign Review*, and the *National Review*: from recent successes such as the shilling monthlies; from the popular and singular example abroad that combined fiction and politics, and from available staff – Bagehot, for example, whose signed instalment on ‘The English Constitution’ commenced in the first issue of the *Fortnightly* on its first page, had just had to abandon as editor the failed *National Review*, and Lewes himself who came to the post of the *Fortnightly*’s editor having served as a founder and literary editor of the *Leader*, who wrote and edited the new titles. Looking at this cluster of the new, I will argue that they are products of similar influences in the culture, which together explain and help generate what I identify as the vanguard of a new generation of the press as a whole, across its breadth – newspapers, magazines, and reviews; and dailies, weeklies/fortnightlies, monthlies and quarterlies. They reflect the crucial disruptions at the time, continuities from these defunct titles, and from successful recent models of new formations. Traces of older organising constituencies – of political parties or religions – are still discernible, although more faint, in the new generation, which attempts to overlay/displace them with wider, less sectarian constituencies, but also more inclusive with respect to gender, age and class – fiction in combination with a significant price reduction, being a great equaliser and lure.

Breton, Rob (Nipissing University)

‘The Tradition of the Oppressed’ in Chartist Historical Fiction

See Vargo (Greg)

Richard Butler (St John’s College, University of Cambridge)

“Prosperity and poverty, civilization and crime”: Ireland as the antithesis of Victorian modernity in the British architectural press, 1837-53

At the dawn of the Victorian era, Ireland presented challenges which made it the bane of British governance. Few travel writers failed to comment on the poverty of the Irish peasantry, especially during the Great Famine of the 1840s – Thackeray said that one travelled to England ‘for the wonders of its wealth – Ireland for the wonders of its poverty’. However, the north-east of Ireland industrialised rapidly in with the population of Belfast increasing by fivefold in the half-century before the Famine. In my paper I argue Ireland represented a rewarding case-study for many Victorian engineers, architects, scientists, and planners: they could either see it as the working-through of diagnosable problems, or the potential for testing remedies. The period chosen, 1837-53, deliberately reflects a revolution in periodical publishing which occurred at this time: 1837 saw the first issue of the *Civil Engineer and Architect’s Journal* (monthly), and was followed by the *Art Union* in 1839 (renamed *Art Journal* in 1849, also monthly), *The Ecclesiologist* in 1841 (monthly), and, most importantly, *The Builder*, in 1843 (weekly). The sample chosen for analysis reflects not only the first decade of *The Builder* but also the hosting of the Dublin Industrial Exhibition in 1853.

My paper will focus on the remarkable growth of interest in Ireland in these periodicals which occurred in 1847-53, and tailed off afterwards. I argue that around this time Ireland was (re)discovered as the antithesis of Victorian modernity, partly by a contrast of tradition and modernity – the dichotomy of ‘Prosperity and poverty, civilization and crime’ which a contributor to one of these publications made in 1844. I will show that before this time Ireland maintained an extremely peripheral position in these periodicals. The Famine put an end to this, and the government’s relief works especially interested all four periodicals. This newfound interest is most evident in *The Builder*, following an editorial in October 1847, and a caustic letter published in February 1850. These led to a debate on the present state of architecture in Ireland, the result was not only an increased awareness of the country, but also the evolution of a separate identity to the uneasy quasi-provincial status which Ireland had occupied since the Union of 1801. There was also around this time a subtle but noteworthy shift in *The Builder*: up until 1848 news concerning Ireland was published in the ‘Notes in the Provinces’ column, but after this debate Irish news was always printed in a separate and distinct

column. Ireland could no longer be ‘provincial’: the Famine made this impossible. Now it was an ‘other’, a separate arena where the principles of British justice and economics failed to hold true.

I will show that the extra attention devoted to Ireland during the Famine was sustained for a short period afterwards on account of the enthusiasm generated for the large industrial exhibitions in Cork (1852) and Dublin. These events offered the opportunity to present an alternative impression of Ireland, free of the horrors of the Famine. *The Builder* published 4 lengthy editorials on Ireland which challenged the stereotype attached to the country. The first commented: ‘Those who know Ireland only through the London newspapers, have a very different notion of the country from the right one’. In one of these editorials, the author sought to contrast what he saw as ‘living Ireland’ and ‘dead Ireland’, the former purportedly exemplified by Belfast. I argue that his ‘dead Ireland’ can be understood as a metaphor for the social and economic failures of the rest of the island, in particular the rural areas outside the large urban settlements. Ireland as the antithesis of Victorian modernity then has its complications and contradictions: a duality of impressions can be seen to exist, with the island able to represent both the risks and the rewards of embracing the modernity which pervades and permeates the British architectural press of the time.

Buurma, Rachel Sagner (Swarthmore College)

Charles Reade, Victorian Periodicals Researcher

In this paper I examine Victorian novelist Charles Reade’s reading (in more than one sense) of Victorian periodicals, arguing that a study of the way he drew on periodicals to do the research necessary to write his novels (particularly those subtitled “matter-of-fact romances”) could become a rich resource for current critical attempts to revivify our understandings of realism and fictional representation. Reade was and is known for the intensity of his love of grounding his fictions firmly on facts, as well as for his propensity to shovel those facts (wholesale and still bearing the generic markers of the newspapers, weeklies, and monthlies from which they derived) into the pauses of his novels’ narratives. It is tempting to read Reade’s research practices as naïve attempts to herd the world directly into the text in ways that more sophisticated Victorian novelists did not. This common account of Reade ascribes his lack of canonicity to his simplistic ideas of representation, attendant narrative unevenness, and – most of all – his lack of literariness. Yet, following recent innovations in work on Reade, I’ll argue that the nature of Reade’s obsession with facts, and in particular the methodologies he employed to do his careful research, offer us a new and expanded view of the realist project. I’ll claim that for Reade, research had an aesthetics of its own that informed the way he saw his novels as both literary and historically grounded, and that he used the archive developed by researching in periodicals as a mediating ground between the stark opposites of fictional representation and living reality.

Reade himself, along with his many research assistants, spent hundreds of hours every year reading periodicals, cutting extracts out of them, and classifying them. First skimming them, he then used existing indexes and created his own in order to make the clippings searchable and potentially usable. As he wrote in one diary entry,

Breakfast 9.30. Just skimming two newspapers, to be read more carefully after dinner, wasted till 12.30. Thus I never get a day's work and never shall. Pasting in extracts... till nearly three. Tedious work. It being almost impossible to classify them properly at once, I paste them first into a book as classificanda. Then by degrees I may cut them out, and put them in a guard-book in some order. (See Bankson, *Charles Reade's Manuscript Notecards for Hard Cash*)

And for all the time Reade spent, a relatively small proportion of the thousands of words of clipping he processed ever appeared in a novel in recognizable form. (We can tell not just by comparing the clipping-books to the novels ourselves, but also because of Reade’s habit of triumphantly scrawling “USED” across the relevant clippings.) But I want to argue that Reade’s reorganization of periodicals in his bound and indexed guardbooks constitutes a kind of aesthetic practice of its own, the creation of a middle space of reshaped information that was not quite a representational fiction and yet not at all

the existing world, either. Inspired by recent revaluations of realism that seek to emphasize the way Victorian novels point to, “touch,” or index the world rather than seeking to (more or less perfectly) represent the world, I argue that Charles Reade’s development of these archives of periodical clippings as a interstitial space reveals to us something essential about his conception of realism, a conception which likely relates to both the twentieth century’s neglect of and the twenty-first century’s renewed interest in his novels.

This paper is part of a larger project seeking to heal or revise the current perception of a division between historicist literary research that uncovers facts about literature and formalist criticism that provides an account of literature’s aesthetic value. Students of English literature have long practiced a kind of historically-informed research whose own aesthetics, I argue, underwrites value-making practices of its own. In my research on Reade I hope to offer a small fragment of the prehistory of literary criticism’s own valuable, value-making practices of historicist research.

Cayley, Seth (Cengage Learning EMEA)

Creating the *Daily Mail Historical Archive 1896-2004: How Digital Archives Are Made*

It is self-evident that digital archives have transformed the landscape of historical research, especially of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, on which the majority of these resources are concentrated. The sheer digital accessibility of rare material, which in physical form can be locked away in the special collections of a single library, has helped to democratise the study of the past. In tandem with this, many digital archives permit word-searching of the content, opening up the material to a form of textual interrogation not permissible in print.

In this goldrush to digital, there is a danger of taking it all for granted. There is a common misconception that digitising the archive of a newspaper is simply a case of scanning the pages and putting them on the internet. In this regard, digital archives are a victim of their own success; the best are so simple to use that they look simple to put together. Yet behind each digital newspaper archive is a mammoth project involving editorial selection, content processing conundrums, and a wide variety of bespoke technical decisions.

Jim Mussell has rightly argued that ‘these resources actually constitute a type of edition...Users must be able to analyse how a resource has been put together if they are to understand how the digital representation differs from whatever it republishes.’ (*VPR* 45.2). By presenting the methodology used in creating the *Daily Mail Historical Archive*, my aim here is to bring to users’ attention the history of this digital edition, the transformations that have taken place to the content, and an appreciation of the scale of the whole initiative.

(Taken from “Creating the Daily Mail Historical Archive” by Seth Cayley, an essay to be included in the archive, which will be released in June 2013)

In this presentation, I would outline some of the key decisions and factors made when building a digital archive, all of which influence the way researchers are able to use modern digital archives:

- Selection of editions to use for digitisation – which version of the newspaper do we use?
- Image Capture – why does it look that way on screen?
- Optical Character Recognition – what do we mean by ‘accuracy’?
- XML – the ‘essence of digital data’
- The *Daily Mail Atlantic Edition* – a rare discovery

Admittedly, the *Daily Mail* only just about qualifies as a Victorian publication, although it does have an entry in the *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism*. However, many of the points from this case study can be applied to digital archive projects more generally.

This could lead onto a group discussion about the use of digital archives, and how they affect the types of research and study that can be carried out.

Clarke, Meaghan (University of Sussex)

‘Tradition and the New’: Women and The Art Press at turn of the century

New art periodicals emerged in fin-de-siècle London, the *Studio* (founded 1893), the *Connoisseur* (founded 1901) and The *Burlington Magazine* (founded 1903). As scholars have demonstrated women were important supporters of fine art during this period, and their sartorial presence at exhibition openings was invariably documented in the ladies pages and in women’s magazines. However, women also contributed to this arena as art journalists. This paper will consider their interventions in the art press at a particularly crucial period in Britain, not only marking the inception of new periodicals, but also the demise of the great Victorian journals the *Art Journal* and the *Magazine of Art*. Not surprisingly, reviews and articles written by women within the art press have been largely overlooked in scholarship because their contributions were often pseudonymous or indeed anonymous. The London art press at the turn of the century reveals a network of professional women who wrote about matters ranging from decorative art to collecting and connoisseurship.

Cohen, Ed (Rollins College) and Fertig, Anne R. (University of Glasgow)

Marion Bernstein and the *Glasgow Weekly Mail* in the 1870s

In *Imagined Communities*, in which he creates a theoretical construct for interrogating the phenomenon of national identity, Benedict Anderson suggests that the most vivid figure for a community and its citizens is the daily ceremony of the simultaneous reading of the newspaper: “Each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others, of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion.” In this paper I will argue that such a community flourished *literally* in the 1870s in the poetry columns of the *Glasgow Weekly Mail* and that Marion Bernstein established her agency and identity as a contributor of verses to these columns.

Bernstein, 1846-1906, published almost two hundred poems during her lifetime, and between February 1874 and December 1879 nearly half of them appeared in the *Weekly Mail*. These include most of the works upon which her literary standing now rests, and my project is not only to trace the relationship between the poet and the paper during her most prolific decade but also to examine how she earned a reputation therein as a champion of women’s rights and social justice.

Published every Saturday, the *Glasgow Weekly Mail* reported national, regional, and local news of a social or sensational bent. Its advertising, moreover, reflects the growth of economic opportunity in an increasingly urbanized Scotland. The general editor, James Ramsay Manners, 1837-1920, was an astute manager whose attention to the desires of his readership led the paper to unprecedented prosperity. Between 1874 and 1880 its circulation increased fifty-four per cent to 200,000; and, according to the *Newspaper Press Directory* for 1877, its readership was ‘about four times that of any other newspaper in Edinburgh and Glasgow.’ Under the direction of an anonymous poetry editor, a column of six or seven original verses by men and women appeared in every issue. The poetry column in these years was printed alongside a weekly inventory of works submitted but not published: poems declined; poems recommended for revision and resubmission; even fragments or stanzas of poems cited as examples of good or poor poetic practice. Adjoining each other, these columns created a competition between the poems selected and the poems rejected. They also provided a forum in which the editor set forth his proscriptions: “amatory” verses, “epistolary” verses, “obituary” verses, “strictly religious” verses, imitations of the poems of Burns, and poems about “Women’s Rights.”

Marion Bernstein repeatedly challenged these proscriptions, to paraphrase Alexis Easley, “as a way of constructing and complicating her authorial identity.” Sparring with the editor, competing with fellow poets, and interacting with readers of all classes—all of whom formed a literal community—she published poems railing against wife beating and advocating for domestic equality and women’s suffrage. Her poetry, with its rare blend of anger and humor, engaged her readers and even appears to

have contributed to the increasing circulation of the paper. Explaining his encouragement, the editor wrote: “So far as Marion is concerned, we have no objection to insert anything which may provoke a smart retort from her. We like to strike fire from our clever correspondents.”

Colombo, Amy (Virginia Commonwealth University)

Arrangement in Black and White: James Whistler and the Victorian Press

The art critics, the media, society, other artists, and enemies often misunderstood James McNeill Whistler. Whistler was labeled eccentric in an attempt by the critics to try to define him, to try to explain why he was one thing and was not another; why he did something and not something else. In a time where narrative was necessary to explain a painting, truth was beauty, nature revered, and morality admired, Whistler rebelled and consequently was attacked by those who did not understand him. In an attempt to explain and protect himself, Whistler constantly expressed his “theories” concerning the media, his art, and his text in the Victorian press. Whistler’s defiance converged in 1890 when he wrote and published *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies*, a book that crosses traditional disciplinary boundaries (art, history, literature, media studies) in order to create an intellectual paradigm that demands to be understood according to its (and its author’s) interdisciplinary nature. Whistler’s relationship to the press demonstrates the many facets of his personality along with the many facets of his creative and artistic abilities in order to vindicate himself in a tradition public forum of its time in a new way.

In his 1967 introduction to the Dover edition of *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies*, Alfred Werner writes that Whistler was one of the first modern artists who talked back to the critics and the public: “The code of silence was punctuated once and for all, by the witty, proud and pugnacious” Whistler (vi). In the nineteenth century, “there was...no dearth of artists who could think well and write well; while other artists did not use their sharp pens for counterattack, Whistler did” (Werner vi). Whistler talked back using the medium of text.

In this paper I will show how a Victorian artist exploited the Victorian media (*The World*, *The Pall Mall Gazette*, *Truth*, etc.) of his day in a new way; Whistler took advantage of the media by turning it upon itself resulting in Whistler becoming a self-made-media-man.

Consonni, Antonietta (University of Macerata – Italy)

Changes in Marketing Strategies: the *Calcutta Review* from 1844 to 1899.

The *Calcutta Review* was an Anglo-Indian literary quarterly first published in Calcutta in May 1844, which reviewed books on Indian subjects. Founded by John William Kaye, poet, novelist, historian, and expert journalist, the periodical enjoyed considerable success. Each issue consisted of about 250 pages and contained six articles. In the final section, entitled *Miscellaneous Notices*, from eight to ten books were briefly presented to the public. From 1846, the *Calcutta Review* was also published in Madras, Bombay, and London. In its heyday it reached a circulation of 1,500 copies. The first series ended in 1912. The periodical, though very different from the original one, is still published today by the University of Calcutta. The format of the *Calcutta Review* did not undergo major modifications during the nineteenth century. However, its marketing strategy did change over the years. This paper focuses on the way advertisements were used, analyzing two different types of advertising methods: how the *Calcutta Review* itself was publicized and the selling of advertising spaces in the periodical. How was the image of the periodical presented? In which English and Anglo-Indian periodicals was it advertised? Did this strategy continue throughout the years? In the issues published in March and June 1859 George Smith, the then editor of the *Calcutta Review*, sold the first pages of the periodical for advertisements. During the Sepoy Rebellion the Anglo-Indian community had suffered many casualties and the sales of the periodical decreased; more advertisements were presumably encouraged to bring in new funds. This strategy, however, was immediately abandoned to be resumed only in April 1866, when the proprietor and printer, R.C. Lepage introduced various kinds of advertisements. There were a few peaks in the use of advertisements through the years, but they

became quite regular and frequent only in the 1890s. What sort of goods or services were promoted and were they aimed at specific members of the public? Did the typology of the advertisements change over the years? Were special graphic devices and illustrations introduced? How much did it cost to publish an advertisement in the pages of the review and how important, for the periodical, was the revenue from advertising? Was this extra income significant for the survival of the review? Did other Anglo-Indian literary periodicals such as the *Calcutta Literary Gazette and Journal of Belle Lettres, Science, and the Arts*, the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* and the *Bombay Quarterly Magazine* follow similar strategies? By considering these and other related issues, my paper seeks to bring into sharper focus the material history of *The Calcutta Review*.

Crawford, Ian (University of Delaware)

Lost in Translation: Martineau, Thackeray, and the New Monthly Magazines

Writing in his editorial role in the second issue of *The Cornhill Magazine*, published in February 1860, Thackeray responded to Harriet Martineau's harsh *Daily News* obituary of Lord Macaulay, who had died in late December 1859. In doing so, however, he managed to violate all normal social decorum through insulting her by committing an extraordinary linguistic faux pas. Although his blunder confirmed a decision Martineau had already made to decline the opportunity to participate in the most innovative development in periodical publishing of the 1860s, its continuing ramifications played out in a variety of ways. Only after Thackeray's death would she come to write for the magazine, publishing articles in 1864 and 1865 that speak back to his egregious mistake and the issues that it raised. This episode, which has gone largely unnoticed, offers fresh insight into the challenges facing professional women authors seeking to find a place in the rapidly evolving world of Victorian periodicals and expands our awareness of the ways in which issues related to gender contributed to the dynamics of the professional and social networks within which those periodicals functioned.

Dekkers, Odin (Radboud University Nijmegen) see Wilbers, Usha (Radboud University Nijmegen).

Delafield, Catherine (Independent Scholar)

'Novel spinning' and the 'otherwise amber periodical': *Framley Parsonage* in *Cornhill Magazine* 1860-61.

This paper will consider how *Cornhill Magazine* used the serialized novel during the appearance of *Framley Parsonage*, discussing the editorial framework and register of the periodical and then the interaction of the intertwining serials. These elements are then combined in the re-reading of the serial through its illustrations.

On 28 October 1859, the editor of the new *Cornhill Magazine*, William Thackeray wrote to novelist Anthony Trollope: 'One of our chief objects in the Magazine is the getting out of novel spinning and back into the world'. At this stage, only a few weeks before the launch of the magazine, the contribution of Trollope's *Framley Parsonage* to the *Cornhill* has only just been agreed. The novel appeared in sixteen monthly instalments between January 1860 and April 1861.

In his first 'Roundabout Paper' in January 1860, Thackeray offered the credentials of the authors he has elsewhere described as 'Co-operators' without naming them. The first part of Trollope's serial was given lead station in the first number but Thackeray was clearly a dominant force in setting out the magazine's rationale and register. Most significant, perhaps, is the knowing type of novel-writing which will create the 'social table' and 'man of the world' tone for which the Editor and his publisher, George Smith were striving. This was re-emphasized by the accompanying material both factual and fictional, from Thackeray himself (*Philip, Lovel the Widower*, 'William Hogarth' 'The Four Georges' and 'Roundabout Papers') and from other contributors ('Studies in Animal Life', 'Physiological Riddles', *The Portent*).

Barbara Schmidt suggests that in the *Cornhill* ‘the articles and poems interrogated the fiction’ (*VPR*, 32.3, p. 204) and this concept extends also to the illustrations in the periodical. This paper will additionally consider how the placement and visual references of the illustrations in the serial, factual articles and poems affected the original reading experience of Trollope’s novel.

As *Framley Parsonage* concluded in April 1861, Richard Doyle’s first ‘Bird’s Eye View of Society’ was immediately inserted as a fold-out illustration and the artist requested that ‘my little fly-leaf may be preserved in the otherwise amber periodical in which it now appears’ (*Cornhill Magazine*, 3 (1861), p. 497). Evolution and placement affected the structure and interpretation of the novel. Henry James regarded Trollope’s methods as ‘deliberately inartistic’ and complained after the novelist’s death that ‘he took a suicidal satisfaction in reminding the reader that the story he was telling was only, after all, a make-believe’ (*Century Magazine*, July 1883). This paper will argue that Trollope, the evolving serial writer chose to expose the structure of his own writing within the context of a periodical vehicle which was constantly discussing its structure both in editorials and in other articles and serials in the interwoven or ‘spinning’ pattern surrounding *Framley Parsonage*.

Demoor, Marysa (Ghent University, Belgium)

At the start of a new century: the *Athenaeum* under a new editor, the Vernon Rendall episode (1900-1916)

The aim of this presentation is to discuss the new editor of the influential weekly *Athenaeum* after Norman Maccoll’s resignation. The editorships during the early decades of the *Athenaeum* have been discussed in several publications already and the journal’s influence and policy under Norman Maccoll is well-known and has been examined in overviews such as Marchand’s and my own (*Fair Share*, 2000). Maccoll has his own entry in the *ODNB* and quite a number of *Athenaeum* contributors honoured his work in their letters and autobiographies.

Interestingly however, the man who filled the editor’s chair after Maccoll has remained totally unknown. There is no entry on Vernon Rendall in the *ODNB* and there have been no articles or books about his contribution to the history of the weekly in spite of the fact that he was the assistant editor for several years under Maccoll and that he was at the helm of the weekly for more than an decade after Maccoll, i.e. during the cultural turmoil before the war and the first years of the Great War. This paper wants to find out who Rendall was, what he achieved as the *Athenaeum* editor and why he has remained a nonentity.

DeRose, Catherine (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Periodical Links: Reading the Circulation of Texts In and Around *Romola*

While Victorian serialization meant that novels could reach a wider expanse of readers (being more affordable than volume editions), it also carried with it strict publishing deadlines for its authors, in addition to the possibility that the serial installments themselves might not ever be combined to form a whole work. The history of the serialization of George Eliot’s *Romola* (1862-1863), published in *Cornhill Magazine*, underscores concerns over the distribution and circulation of literature. Internally, *Romola* thematically explores the commodification and destruction of texts in fifteenth-century Florence, with the past setting acting as an analog for the Victorian serial market. Externally, and for this paper, more interestingly, *Romola* directs readers beyond its own pages, alluding to real-world texts (some of which were censored in the fifteenth century, such as Savonarola’s sermons) that readers could find advertised in *The Cornhill*’s pages. Through the juxtaposition of fictional and actual textual circulation, Eliot’s novel expresses concerns for its own material construction, and by extension, its vulnerability to textual corruption. In this paper, I argue that an analysis of the material circulation of writing within and around *Romola* illuminates Eliot’s exploration of questions of authorship, serial publication, and the longevity of literature itself. Moreover, it highlights the ability of Victorian periodicals to function as a temporal bridge that links past and present literature together, making the ephemeral publications potential securers of the

futurity of texts. A restoration of *Romola* to its original serial context illuminates the novel's engagement with the interconnectedness of the writing, publishing, and reading history of Victorian serials.

De Witt, Anne (Princeton University)

Victorian Periodicals and the Network of Genre

Recent work in the digital humanities takes as its subject a far larger set of nineteenth-century novels than Victorianists usually discuss. Franco Moretti employs statistical analysis to find patterns in the titles of 7000 novels published in Britain between 1740 and 1850; Ryan Heuser and Long Le-Khac trace word

frequency trends in 2779 British novels; Matt Jockers's forthcoming monograph *Macroanalysis: Digital Methods and Literary History* treats 3396 British novels. The aim of this work is to present a more comprehensive history of the novel than traditional methods of literary scholarship can. Yet in focusing almost exclusively on the texts of novels, such work bypasses an important part of their history: the way that they were received and read by actual Victorians.

This paper harnesses new digital methods to the study of Victorian periodicals in order to gain insight into Victorian understandings of the novel. It focuses on the theological novel, a genre that emerged in the 1880s and included such books as J. H. Shorthouse's *John Inglesant* (1881), Edna Lyall's *Donovan* (1882), and Mrs. Humphry Ward's *Robert Elsmere* (1888). Though now obscure even to Victorianists, these novels were highly successful in their time, and they were widely reviewed and discussed in the periodical press, especially after Gladstone's essay about *Robert Elsmere* for *Nineteenth Century* helped boost the novel's sensational sales. Some scholarly attention has been paid to pieces like Gladstone's that engage *Robert Elsmere* in an intellectual debate about faith and religious history. But with a broader focus that includes not only highbrow essays but articles and reviews of all types, we can see that the more significant issues raised and debated in periodical responses to the theological novel were literary: that is, while a small number of articles discuss the theological questions explored by these novels, a far larger number reflect on the issue of using fiction to explore theological issues in the first place, and they do so while describing particular theological novels as part of a new genre and situating them in the context of Victorian fiction more broadly.

This paper employs network analysis to visualize the webs of references in transatlantic essays and reviews that discuss theological novels. My aim is partly to reveal how the connections between theological novels constructed a genre: for example, a half-dozen texts, including *Marzio's Crucifix*, *The New Antigone*, and *Robert Elsmere*, were frequently mentioned in the same articles (see Figure 1, upper left-hand corner). But I also seek to understand how such novels were situated in the wider literary field. For instance, I have begun to detect a pattern of negative comparisons between these novels and the fiction of Sir Walter Scott, suggesting that even at this late date his work remained a touchstone in literary criticism. Thus I propose that by using these new methods to analyze the periodical reception of theological novels, we can gain new insight into Victorian theories of the novel more broadly.

Easley, Alexis (St Thomas University)

New Media/Technologies of the Self: Cosmetics and the Illustrated Press of the 1890s

In this presentation, I will explore how middlebrow illustrated periodicals of the 1890s subverted the idea of natural femininity through representations of cosmetics. Women's beauty was ubiquitous subject matter in illustrated periodicals such as the *Strand Magazine*, the *Windsor Magazine*, and *Sketch*—a preoccupation evident not only in short stories but in gallery portraits, fashion plates, and advertisements. Increasingly, these periodicals featured “unnatural” women—those who use padding, make-up, and other devices to alter their appearance. These representations of artificial beauty are not surprising considering that the use of cosmetics was increasingly commonplace among bourgeois

women at the fin de siècle. As Max Beerbohm quipped in “A Defense of Cosmetics” (*Yellow Book*, 1894), “The trade of the makers of cosmetics has increased immoderately—twenty-fold, so one of these makers has said to me.”

Articles in the *Strand* expose the open secret of cosmetic use by showing how “natural” beauty was created and constructed through the use of powders, dyes, and prosthetics. The artifice associated with modern fashion had much in common with theatrical effects--costume, makeup, and other elements of stagecraft. The fact that actresses were so often profiled in popular illustrated periodicals of the 1890s suggests that the womanly ideal was increasingly defined as a chameleon-like sensibility that could easily adapt to varying roles, social performances, and theatrical contexts. Cosmetic enhancements were also associated with advancements in science and technology--the latest surgical, electrical, and chemical procedures. Improvements in beauty were thus seen as the product of a broader narrative of industrial progress. Such progress was shown to depend not only on science but also on the mass media, which disseminated images of ideal beauty and indirectly promoted cosmetic procedures and products through paid advertisements.

As much as illustrated periodicals of the 1890s seemed to interpret cosmetics as technological advancement promoted by new media, they also indicated discomfort with the de-naturalizing, performative function of cosmetics. If cosmetics had much in common with theatrical costume, they also had a great deal in common with criminal disguise. The line between actress, criminal, and respectable woman was increasingly uncertain, and consequently the made-up woman was both a source of fascination and anxiety. To reemploy a frequently used term in the illustrated press of the period, beauty procedures and products were “curiosities”—that is, they were accoutrements of the “queer side” of modern life, which upset and upturned the assumption of “normal” bodies, roles, and relationships. Cosmetics could trick the eye, leading viewers to mistake appearance for truth, surface for depth, performance for authenticity.

Of course, the charge of superficiality and fleeting visual sensationalism was also lodged against the illustrated press itself, which carried the taint of the “feather-brained” New Journalism. Representations of cosmetic use in these periodicals sometimes provided self-reflexive commentary on the practice of illustrated journalism. For example, Madame Sara, the antagonist of Grant Allen’s serial “The Sorceress of the Strand” (*Strand Magazine*, 1902-3), is depicted as a cosmetic dentist and professional “beautifier” who operates a shop “wedged between a hosier’s and a cheap print-seller’s” on the Strand. The location of her shop is significant because presumably it is located just around the corner from the Southampton Street offices of the *Strand Magazine*, which are “wedged” in the same bustling commercial district rife with cheap print and commodities. This dodgy realm of exchange is reflected in the advertisement section of the magazine, which hawked every kind of household good—from typewriters to cold medicine—as well as every sort of powder, tonic, and cosmetic procedure.

These adverts are often linked to advertorials in the body of the magazine itself. For example, an article on “Nose-Improvers” in an 1896 issue of the *Strand* is followed by advertisement for nose-reshaping devices in subsequent issues of the magazine. Illustrations in advertisements and in the content of the periodical depict the human body as something continually in need of alteration and improvement. An illustration accompanying the nose-improvers article, for example, features a woman who “cultivated a different nose for each admirer,” thus demonstrating the plasticity of the face and the chameleon-like subjectivities enabled by modern cosmetic technologies. With the help of a nose-improver, the young lady becomes a series of young women, each with a different admirer and presumably a different identity. The body and the self are presented as being continually in flux.

Just as the *Strand* indirectly deals in nose-improvers, hair color, bust enhancers, and fat pills in its advertisement pages and advertorials, Madame Sara privately deals in the same sort of goods, which are located behind her perfumery shop. In the *Strand Magazine*, these advertisements were published as front and back matter, thus occupying a marginal position seemingly separate from the “proper” contents of the magazine—its articles and fiction. In this sense, they functioned in much the same way

as Sara's dodgy cosmetic business located at the back of her seemingly respectable shop. "The Sorceress of the Strand," then, comments in a metafictional way on its own publishing venue—as a medium that is both respectable and suspect, which has pretensions of producing high-quality entertainment yet often stoops to selling sensationalist "sorcery" and tawdry consumer goods.

Fertig, Anne R. (University of Glasgow)

see Cohen, Ed, Marion Bernstein and the *Glasgow Weekly Mail* in the 1870s.

Forrester, Kate (University of Dublin, Trinity College)

Christmas Past in an Age of Progress

During the first half of the nineteenth century many festive writers were intensely preoccupied with the relationship between Christmas and the past. Informative texts which traced the festival's lengthy national history, usually by examining and cataloguing old customs and their origins, flourished in the seasonal press where writers were keen to assert that the celebration of Christmas dated from a distant and remote time. At the same time, fictional narratives frequently borrowed the imagery of a generically medieval "old-fashioned Christmas" to generate scenes of festive comfort for their readers, enabling them to vicariously experience the old customs of a festival which, during this part of the century, was altering to meet the needs of a 'new, more industrial and urban society'. This paper will examine a range of texts that appeared in the Victorian press at Christmas time in order to unravel the tension between the desire to uphold the old-fashioned traditions of Christmas, and the vast social and cultural changes of the nineteenth century which lead some writers to radically call for 'a new-fashioned – very new fashioned Christmas'.

While writers continued to refer to "old Christmas" throughout the century, it would be difficult to argue that they wanted to restore Christmas past wholeheartedly. In Charles Dickens's seminal festive text, *A Christmas Carol* (1843), the first of the three spirits to visit Ebenezer Scrooge is the Ghost of Christmas Past, who begins the work of reforming Dickens's protagonist by showing him 'the shadows of the things that have been', thus compelling him to revisit scenes from his own past. Scrooge's reactions to these visions from his past alternate between joy and grief, and in the final scene from this stave Dickens describes how Scrooge 'wrestled' with the Ghost's face, which now resembled 'fragments of all the faces it had shown him', yet despite his attempts to fight against it, the Ghost could not be defeated. This alternating relationship with the past, which is sometimes struggled against and at other times rejoiced in, reflects a tension that had already been emerging within much Christmas print preceding the publication of the *Carol*. Though some writers were concerned about a deviation from what they perceived as time-honoured customs and traditions, others, preoccupied with progress, wanted to 'update' these traditions in accordance with current needs. In line with the progressive spirit of the Victorian age, many time-honoured customs were being set aside due to their incompatibility with the demands of the changing present, to make room for new forms of festive commemoration. While a remarkable volume of writing preoccupied with Christmas past appeared in the press throughout the nineteenth century, this paper will reveal how many of these texts also display an intense self-consciousness about their position within the present. As they were turning back to examine or remember the festivities of past times, numerous writers also seem to imply that the past cannot be dwelt on for too long because man's duty was to the present. These tensions between the different approaches to Christmas past in a self-defined age of progress and transition will form the focus of my exploration into the Victorian relationship between tradition and the new.

Foster, Laura (Cardiff University)

Constructing Workhouses in the *Illustrated London News*

The 1834 New Poor Law overhauled the traditional provision of out-of-doors relief for paupers. It made the workhouse the main form of aid for the destitute poor and, at the same time, sought to make

these institutions so unpleasant that only the truly desperate would take shelter there. The first architectural designs of New Poor Law workhouses reflected the disciplinary intentions of the Act and were lampooned in anti-Poor Law literature as ‘bastilles’. In the first years of its publication, the *Illustrated London News* commented regularly on the punitive ideology of the ‘tyrannical’ New Poor Law, criticising the workhouse system and representatives as being unnecessarily cruel to the needy poor. These reports, which are sometimes sensational in tone, imply a reader who is opposed to the perceived inhumanity of the Poor Law.

Although the *ILN* was heavily critical of the workhouse on several occasions, the articles that discuss the building of new workhouses, and which will be the subject of this paper, appear to have had a very different agenda. Newly built or planned workhouses were reported in the *ILN* as news-worthy items of public interest. Unlike the prison-like structures built during the 1830s, the buildings featured in the *ILN* were designed to be more outwardly pleasing to observers. The isometric illustrations visualise the grand scale of the planned buildings and invite readers to admire the workhouse exterior. The paper will pay particular attention to the article ‘New Poor-Law Workhouses’ (1846), which contrasts the bleak Andover workhouse, made infamous by the scandalous revelation in 1845 that paupers had been sucking marrow from the bones they were meant to be crushing, with the new house to be built at Canterbury. The depiction of the infinitely pleasanter-looking house at Canterbury conveys to readers a more comforting representation of the workhouse, suggesting that the horrors of Andover could not reoccur in this institution. In this report, the workhouse at Canterbury is implicitly heralded as a modern social institution that is, in part, a product of the public feeling against the Poor Law ‘bastilles’.

Focusing on the reports of the Canterbury, Risbridge, Scarborough, and Fulham and Hammersmith new workhouses, this paper will examine the representation of the workhouse constructed in these texts and how this is informed by the unrelated images and written articles that surround these reports. I will examine the cultural meanings and values attached to these institutions and, in particular, I will consider how these reports construct these institutions for the poor as public spectacles to be consumed by middle-class readers. An analysis of these workhouse reports in dialogue with wider discussion about the Poor Law in the *ILN* draws attention to the fractures implicit in the *ILN*’s construction of the workhouse. The paper will consider to what extent the representation of the workhouse in the *ILN*, and in Victorian culture more widely, is an ideological construct that shifts according to a cultural moment.

Furlong, Claire (University of Exeter)

The authority of eminent men? Medical knowledge and popular periodicals, 1830-1850

The popular penny periodicals of the early Victorian period - the ‘useful knowledge’ magazines established in the 1830s, and the entertaining mass-market publications that began the following decade - engaged a new constituency of lower middle- and working-class readers. At the same time, medical and scientific communities were in the process of organising and professionalising, putting the stamp of their growing authority on certain types of knowledge and attempting to distance themselves from or downgrade others; and periodicals from all sections of the market played an important role in the communication and categorisation of scientific knowledge. This paper uses coverage of medical matters as a lens through which to view the ways in which scientific knowledge from a variety of sources was put to lower-class readers, and the role that these new periodicals could take in directing their readers’ responses to that knowledge. Simultaneously, it reveals those periodicals’ attitudes towards the various producers of medical knowledge.

Health and disease were a part of everyone’s daily life, in terms of both physical and cultural experience. New theories about health were aired in all sections of the press: alongside the expansion of the medical profession, alternative therapies were highly fashionable, while a popular faith in more traditional, domestic remedies remained strong. At a time when a significant proportion of health practice, particularly for working-class families, took place at home, and a range of specialists - both

medically sanctioned and offering unorthodox alternatives - were all asserting their legitimacy and special worth, it was an area in which scientific authority was under discussion.

Each of these periodicals articulated and negotiated its relationship with its readers, and its readers' relationship with scientific knowledge through it, via health matters. In each case the periodical's consciousness of itself as a conduit for scientific information is apparent, and the contrasting ways in which they approach this responsibility reveals much about their attitudes towards their readers, scientific authority and their own roles as mediators of knowledge.

Gonzalez, Eugenia (Birkbeck College, University of London)

The Old Dolls and the New: Toy-Shop Nostalgia in the Victorian Periodical

'Where are the dolls with red dabs for mouths and bodies composed of one thick pink-kid sausage (say a Lyons and two Cambridge), with their ends shaped to the fineness of the feet of Miss Knag's mamma, as mentioned in the annals of Kate Nickleby's fortunes?' This puzzling question appears in an unsigned piece written for *The London Reader* in 1878. Alternating between serious and mock melancholy, the writer presents the image of an adult (man, probably), "august loungeur," standing before a toy shop and rather than finding images of comfort, familiarity and innocence, seeing in the glittering windows of the toy shop the reflection of a new and changing world. The speaker does not describe what he sees except in terms of its excess and its foreignness – they are of "a variety undreamed of." He describes instead the dolls that are no longer to be found in shops and that are only accessible now through a Dickensian fictional and idealized world of virtuous simplicity and innocence.

These dolls of sausage limbs, funny and lovable, if a little grotesque, have been replaced by the haughty beauties that a woman writing for *The Ladies' Treasury* describes as 'creatures . . . who dust and paint their faces with real rouge and bismuth powder, and under-dress themselves abominably in appearing over-dressed.' These dolls are presented as objectionable not only on the grounds of their unsuitability for innocent girls, introducing them to an adult world of fashion and consumption that is perilous even for adults, but also for their failure to ignite the childish imagination. "In my time," the woman writes, 'A doll was the merest prop for the little girl's imagination' and 'There was room for the creative instinct to show itself.' With the introduction of these new, perfected, mass-produced dolls, however, this potential is perceived to be gone and the child is left with nothing to do but to 'tear and destroy.'

Given that the Victorian doll seems now to elicit images of quaint antiquity, the idea that the Victorians saw their dolls as embodiments of the fast-paced changes transforming their society may seem surprising. Yet this was precisely the case. The Victorian period was an important turning point in doll history. Never had dolls been produced in such numbers and never had they been written and thought about to such an extent. In the words of the author of an 1893 piece written for *Chatterbox*, 'enormous numbers of dolls' were being made 'To meet this universal demand.' Just in London, as many as forty doll manufacturers existed (Common Things). This paper sets out to explore the feelings of nostalgia that characterized this pivotal moment and to consider how these changes were perceived as being the harbingers of other important transformations in attitudes towards industrial practices and capitalism, consumer culture, and even femininity. After all, as the author of *The London Reader* piece argues, the doll-shop 'is a world in little, and represents society not only in its simplest elements, but in its complicated forms and varieties.'

Goodwyn, Helena (Queen Mary, University of London)

An Old Story with a New Twist: W. T. Stead's First Foray into the World of Fiction

This paper offers a close reading of W. T. Stead's first work of fiction 'From the Old World to the New; or, A Christmas Story of the World's Fair, 1893' which was published as the Christmas edition of the *Review of Reviews* in 1892.

The Christmas edition of magazines and journals had become a staple of the Christmas market since the 1840s; Charles Dickens himself realised the potential of this market, running special editions of *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*, including Christmas stories written by him as a particular lure for readers. Contrastingly for Stead - who had throughout his life held strongly antithetical views towards the novel and theatre - the inclusion of fiction, and indeed his own creation of fiction, was a new venture, and one which he could not enter into without a similarly newly found belief in didacticism. The plot of this Christmas annual has been used to support claims that Stead predicted the Titanic disaster and therefore his own demise. In the opening preface of his Christmas story Stead draws the readers' attention to last year's 'Christmas Number'. He informs the reader:

Last year our Christmas Number, dealing with the shadowy under-world, achieved for "Real Ghosts" an unprecedented success. This year we make an equally unprecedented departure from the conventionalities of journalistic Christmasery, but we deal, not with the truth about the dim, obscure world of spirit, but with the latest embodiment of the genius, the enterprise and the labour of Man in the material realms.

Stead then goes on to argue for a 'living link' between the current Christmas annual and that published a year earlier. The link, Stead puts forward, is one of discovery: he reminds his reader of Columbus and his voyage 'across the Unknown Sea' to a land who now hosts the 'latest temporary materialisation and realistic development' of man's progress – the World's Columbian Exposition. He then reminds his reader of last years' message – of a new New World – implying that 'faith and courage' are required to discover it, and that it is only 'ignorance', 'timidity' and 'superstition' that prevents such a journey.

Stead is quoted by Frederic Whyte, his biographer, as having said: 'there are millions of human beings, especially among the young and among women, who will never read anything unless it is served up to them in the form of fiction. As a newspaper only deals with fictions of another sort and religiously abstains from publishing fiction that is honestly labelled as such, it fails to secure as readers those whose only literary diet is romance.' This paper, in offering a detailed analysis of 'From the Old World to the New', explores Stead's move towards the potentiality of fiction – as can be seen in the bold statement of purpose that his Christmas annual is prefaced by. In suggesting that the 'audacity of the novice' is the only thing that allows him to attempt to combine 'the love story of the Christmas annual and the information of a guide-book', as well as his growing beliefs in the powers of psychical phenomena and an exposition on the 'immense political possibilities' of the World's Fair, we glimpse an anxiety that exposes Stead's fraught relationship with the boundary between fiction and news which also sits at the heart of debates about the uses and abuses of new journalism.

Hadamitzky, Christiane (Freiburg University)

The History of a Magazine is but the Influence of a Great Man? – the Decline of *Fraser's Magazine*

The influence of Thomas Carlyle on Victorian intellectual life is undoubted and has often been commented upon in the fields of literature and history. However, his influence on *Fraser's Magazine*, aside from his own contributions to the publication, has not been examined in greater detail yet.

By tracing the reception of Carlyle in the magazine, my paper is going to address, how *Fraser's* clung to its old ideals and traditions and thus found itself unable to reach contemporary audiences. Specifically, I am going to analyse those articles in the magazine, which refer to Carlyle's views on heroism and his lectures *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*, and thereby will show how those ideas were continuously reproduced until Carlyle himself was turned into a hero-figure of the magazine's intellectual identity. Thus, Carlyle's theory was used as a reference work in essays on politics, on economic issues, on literature or history writing. In all of them, the importance and severity of Carlyle's work is stressed and his conviction that extraordinary, transcendental heroes exist and define man's progress is reaffirmed. The perpetual

invoking of Carlyle and his ideals, which had become disputed in the second half of the 19th century, can thus be seen as an illustration of the

magazine's inability to adapt to contemporary opinions and developments, which led to a drastically shrinking readership and, in 1882, to the discontinuation of the publication. The material will be examined from a literary and cultural studies perspective and the analysis of the material will show how, by sticking to ideas and the semantics of a traditional conservative past, *Fraser's Magazine* failed in keeping up with the changing demands of the print market and its consumers.

Hatter, Janine (University of Hull)

Victorian Short Fiction: Debunking the Periodical Short Story's Literary and Economic Traditions

There are two traditions surrounding the Victorian periodical short story that need debunking. The first is articulated by Harold Orel in *The Victorian Short Story: Development and Triumph of a Literary Genre* (1986), whose notion is that the Victorian short story merely satisfied the needs of publishers to 'fill [the] columns of white space with agreeable reading matter' (p. 1). Thus, the literary style and value of the periodical short story is sidelined in favour of the serialized novel. The second is the assumption that if the short story had a high economic value, then authors prioritised the **quick financial gain over the literary style of the story. Both of these traditions** do a disservice to the form.

Even though the novel was the eminent form of Victorian fiction, the short story was a vital element to a writer's oeuvre. For instance, Mary Elizabeth Braddon's short fiction makes up a considerable portion of her output: alongside her almost ninety full-length novels, she published more than two hundred short pieces, of which nearly one hundred and fifty are short stories, which have not yet gained substantial critical interest. **Through an examination of Braddon's literary contracts, this paper explores the contradiction between the high economic value paid for the short story by magazine and newspaper publishers, and the low literary value placed on the form by some authors, contemporary and modern critics, and the general reading public.**

Jennifer Carnell and Graham Law's 2000 article "'Our Author": Braddon in the Provincial Weeklies' in *Beyond Sensation: Mary Elizabeth Braddon in Context*, made ground-breaking headway in researching and critically examining the price paid by publishers for Braddon's novels in periodicals, subsequent profits from American republication rights and printing the novels in volume form. My paper will follow this example by developing their research to **give a brief overview of Braddon's periodical short fiction publication history from the penny dreadful, through her own periodicals, to her innovative newspaper syndicate.** Graham Law's *Serializing Fiction in the Victorian Press* notes that this deal was 'original in the sense that it created the first syndicate of British provincial newspapers systematically covering most of the country for new work by an author with a reputation already established in the metropolitan book market' (p. 43). Thus, publishing in the provinces gave Braddon a new business model and an expanding readership. Developing Graham Law's research on Tillotson's Fiction Bureau housed at the Bodleian Library, I will discuss **the price W. F. Tillotson paid for Braddon's short fiction, in relation to other author's short stories and her own novels – revealing the high price paid for the form – and then debate the reasons for this. I advocate that although short fiction was viewed as less prestigious than the novel, it needed to be of a high literary quality in order to raise the rank and circulation of the periodical, along with attracting casual readers.**

In conclusion, I am proposing a new perspective on the Victorian short story: that the form should be deemed higher in economic, literary and critical terms than the triple-decker novel. This is because writers such as **Braddon, whose continuous output of short fiction demonstrates both the**

financial advantages and the literary skill involved, used the periodical short story to challenge her society's traditions in a form that sidelined critical onslaught.

Haywood, Ian (University of Roehampton)

'Getting Ready for Another Royal Bantling': Satires of Queen Victoria in the Chartist and Radical Press

(see Vargo, Greg)

Hobbs, Andrew (University of Central Lancashire)

Towards a chronology of the Victorian provincial periodical in England

This paper attempts the first outline history of Victorian periodical publishing in England beyond London, tracing the chronology of launches and genres, and relating them to trends in metropolitan periodicals and the wider culture. Through this 'distant reading' of hundreds of titles, I aim to address some problematic but fruitful distinctions: between newspaper and periodical; and between the categories of local, metropolitan and national (Moretti 2007).

Anthony Davis's negative definition of the magazine (almost synonymous with the periodical) as 'less hasty than newspapers, more timely than books' suggests a continuum of publishing forms, and many provincial periodicals moved along this continuum (Davis 1994). The *Swindon Advertiser and Monthly Record*, for example, went from magazine to weekly newspaper, becoming the *Swindon Advertiser and North Wilts Chronicle* in 1855. Conversely, the weekly news miscellanies studied by Graham Law changed their content and appearance rather than their frequency, transforming from newspapers to magazines towards the end of the century (Law 2000). Examples such as these, and the study of publishers' motivations for issuing a periodical rather than a newspaper, help to refine our categories. They can also solve the puzzle of why the provincial periodical was – with a few notable exceptions – far less successful than the provincial newspaper.

The classifications of metropolitan and national have too often been elided in discussions of Victorian culture in general and of periodical publishing in particular. Yet the perceived need for hundreds of publications focused on particular districts, counties or regions is evidence that metropolitan publications often failed to cater for readers outside London and South-East England. Further, provincial publications had at their disposal techniques not available to 'national' titles, in their appeal to local and regional identities. Occasionally the categories of local and national were combined in one publication, as in the parish magazine, invented in 1859, which combined pre-printed pages produced in Derby and distributed nationally, with pages added locally in each parish (Platt 2011). More generally, I will argue that a 'national' culture was created and re-created, lived and experienced, at local level, and that the provincial periodical was part of this national culture-making.

Some magazines were the expression of local literary cultures or interpretive communities,¹ distinct from, but related to, metropolitan literary circles. Others were clearly modelled on 'national' titles, such as the 30-40 regional and local *Notes and Queries*, all following the format established by the original *Notes and Queries*, launched in London in 1849. Tracing the mimesis of innovations, both chronologically and geographically, illuminates the reading and reappropriation of periodical forms and genres.

I hope to demonstrate that the category of place can illuminate many aspects of the Victorian periodical.

Horrocks, Clare (Liverpool John Moores University) & Smith, Shannon (Queen's University)

¹ Stanley Eugene Fish, 'Interpreting the "Variorum"', *Critical Inquiry*, 2 (1976), 465–485.

Beyond the Page: The Role of the Digital Archive in Studying the Victorian Periodical Press

What does a student need to know in order to study the Victorian Press? Is the word on the page enough or should we move beyond the page to consider the broader cultural networks in which Victorian newspapers and periodicals were produced and consumed? This paper will examine how advances in digitisation have both hindered as well as developed periodical studies. The first part of the paper will reflect on the process of building a digital archive. The second part will move on to consider curriculum design and the ways in which digital literacy skills can equip archive users to critically, rather than passively, engage with both the digital archive and the nineteenth-century materials housed within. Digital archives, such as Liverpool John Moores University's *Punch and the Victorian Periodical Press*, can not only make visible and easily accessible the varied networks that comprise the Victorian Periodical Press, but they can also provide the opportunity and materials to make 'readers' more critically aware of their identity as 'users' of such resources (Mussell 18).

Punch and the Victorian Periodical Press consists of digitised runs of the *Punch Contributor Ledgers* along with supporting materials and biographies. The archive not only works in tandem with digitised facsimiles of the popular weekly magazine *Punch*, but also provides vital contextual information for understanding how it was produced. The paper will examine how the archive has been built and evaluate some of the decisions that were made in the process, reflecting on the implications that this will have for future researchers. Debates about the preservation and maintenance of archives, including whether students are aware of the transient nature of the digital object and the potential impact this has for studying the nineteenth century press, will provide a foundation for the second part of the paper which will explore the development and execution of a module that incorporates, and fosters digitally literate engagement with nineteenth-century print culture resources such as *Punch and the Victorian Periodical Press*. Drawing on discussions of digital literacy by scholars such as Richard Burniske (2008) and Jim Mussell (2012), this paper will evaluate the results of different forms of engagement with digital archives in a module taught in 2013. In doing so it will illustrate in practical terms the way in which a digital archive-based study of the Victorian Periodical Press can cultivate both a cultural-historical literacy of nineteenth-century material objects and a digital literacy of their means of preservation and presentation.

Houston, Natalie (University of Houston)

Understanding Bibliography Differently through Data Visualization.

See Patrick, April

Hughes, Gillian (University of Edinburgh)

Adjusting to Change: James Hogg's Periodical Writing of the 1830s

James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd (1770-1832) saw many changes in the periodical marketplace during his writing career of more than thirty years, and while his subject-matter certainly was tradition he was invariably eager to embrace new developments in periodical publishing.

His early contributions to the old *Edinburgh Magazine* and *Scots Magazine* at the start of the nineteenth-century were gratuitous, published there to make literary connections and create a public for his volume publications of songs, ballads, and long narrative poems. On his change of career from shepherd to professional author in 1810 the only way he could be paid for his periodical work was by creating his own magazine, *The Spy* (1810-11). The creation in 1817 of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, a periodical that would pay the contributors of tales and poems a worthwhile fee of at least ten guineas per sheet was revolutionary for Hogg's career and he became a regular contributor whose writing career was heavily focused upon the periodical marketplace of Edinburgh.

A potential opening up of the London periodical market for him occurred in the later 1820s when the introduction of regular steam-boats running between London and Edinburgh's sea-port of Leith reduced the distance in time between the two cities. Hogg initially contributed successfully to the literary Annuals, London-based hybrids of a periodical and a gift-book., while the development of the steel engraving facilitated the evolution of a new type of publication, the literary Annual, a London-based fashionable hybrid of a periodical and a gift-book. Around 1830 Hogg's Edinburgh market for his tales and poems in *Blackwood's* was beginning to contract, partly due to the shadow of the coming 1832 Reform Act and an increasing emphasis on political articles in this Tory magazine. At the same time a magazine largely modelled on *Blackwood's* was begun in London in February 1830, *Fraser's Magazine*. A network of literary men formerly associated with Blackwood supported it, Hogg receiving a personal invitation to become a contributor from fellow Scottish novelist John Galt. While initially sending only short lyric poems to the new periodical or prose tales that had been previously rejected by William Blackwood, *Fraser's* came to be the medium in which some of Hogg's most innovative tales of the last years of his life were published. A three-month stay in London in the early months of 1832 reinforced Hogg's personal connection with James Fraser and his magazine contributors, as well as improving his knowledge of Scottish literary networks in London. By 1835 Hogg estimated that he earned between a hundred and two hundred pounds per annum by writing for periodicals and annuals and much of this income came from London. Hogg was less successful in writing for the new cheap weekly papers of the 1830s such as *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*.

In conclusion, Hogg adapted to new developments in periodical culture in the 1830s with mixed success: the opening up of the London-based *Fraser's Magazine* had a liberating influence upon his work, while the culture of *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* exemplified more of a desire to break with the traditional than Hogg could always accommodate. His versatility and adaptability to changes in the periodical marketplace were, nevertheless, impressive.

Humpherys, Anne (City University of New York)

Dick's Penny Libraries and the Construction of Englishness

John Dicks was one of the most important forces in the development of the popular press in 19th-century Britain. He is now known primarily in terms of his relationship with G.W.M. Reynolds's publications, *The Mysteries of London*, *Reynolds's Miscellany*, and *Reynolds's Newspaper*. Arguably his business stewardship is what assured the survival and success of *Reynolds's Newspaper*, the longest-lived working class newspaper in Britain.

Equally important and less well-known, however, is another of his publishing projects in the second half of the century, his many Penny Libraries of reprints, for example, the Dicks' Penny Shakespeare and Dicks' Standard Plays, being the most popular, and Dicks' English Novels (priced 6d). It is my working hypothesis that these libraries, priced for and marketed to the working classes, established an "English" canon of literature that linked English working class culture to that of a hegemonic middle-class culture and as a byproduct constructed a hybrid image of "Englishness" for its readers. Since most of the information we have about the libraries' contents as a whole comes from the advertisements for the individual libraries in Dicks' publications, I also hope, given time, to touch on some problems of using advertisements in periodical research.

I am at the beginning of my research into Dicks' publications so much of what I have to say will be exploratory as well as speculative. But the paper does fit into the conference topic "Tradition and the New" in that the content under review is both traditional (i.e. Shakespeare) and "new"--long forgotten 19th century English plays and novels which, in the advertised listings, construct a "new" inclusive canon of English literature.

Knies, Michael (University of Scranton)

The Impact of the American Typeface Invasion as Documented in British Printing Trade Periodicals, 1878-1888.

During much of the 19th century, American type founders pirated European typefaces to the point that an international type founders association claimed in 1859 that "At New York... artistic counterfeiting is practiced on a vast scale." However, beginning in the late 1870s American type founders became more original and creative and began exporting typefaces to Great Britain (joining an influx of German typefaces). These "American novelties," consisting of "fancy" typefaces and ornamental borders, took Great Britain by storm and led to a revival of artistic printing, primarily among job printers, but also in magazines. The impact of this invasion of American typefaces was chronicled in detail in British printing trade magazines, particularly the *Printers' Register* and the *British and Colonial Printer and Stationer*. These periodicals, reflecting the entire industry, were generally receptive to the American imports and critical of the overly conservative British type foundries, particularly a group of well-established companies known as the "Associated Foundries." The influx of American typefaces and the impact on British printing and on the British type making industry were covered regularly in the pages of these trade journals. Periodical articles discussed reasons why British type foundries had fallen behind in designing new faces and how American and German type foundries were advertising and selling their new typefaces.

Although the general trade journals responded positively, in general, to the importation of new typefaces from America and Germany, and to the use of these new typefaces by creative British printers (both featured a column evaluating and criticizing new printing samples received from within England as well as from America and Germany), at least one type founder responded negatively and publicly.

In January 1884, London type founder Austin, Woods, & Company began publication of a periodical titled *Anglo-American Typographia* to agitate against American imports and provide a showcase for British-made type using American styles. Austin, Woods, & Company and other British type founders were concerned that the import of American type fonts were depriving British workers of jobs because there were no import duties on metal type and American imported type could undersell British type. Consequently, Austin, Woods, & Company would copy American designs and sell them at significantly lower costs. Other companies also pirated the fancy imported typefaces.

Pirating of typefaces is generally done in one of two manners. The type founder could have a punch cutter imitate the imported letter form by cutting a new punch in order to make matrices for the production of new type. However, starting in 1845 with the invention of electrotyping, the process became much simpler and less expensive. Electrotyping made the process of copying another type founder's typeface simpler in two ways. Traditionally the typeface was cut into a hard steel punch. Electrotyping allowed the typeface to be cut into a softer metal and then electrotyped to create the matrices from which the fonts were cast. A pirating type founder could also make an electrotype directly from type created by a different firm, making it easy to duplicate the work of competing companies

Some designs were short-lived fashions, like Japanese borders, and were commented upon as such. The freedom to combine a variety of typefaces and ornamental borders manufactured by different foundries also brought technical problems to printers. Nonetheless, although criticized at the time, and more so in the early 20th century, for being garish, ugly, etc., these newly designed and imported typefaces inspired a wave of artistic printing in Great Britain leading to the publication of the *British Printer* in 1888 which promoted and featured examples of high-quality artistic printing.

Korte, Barbara (University of Freiburg, Germany)

Looking Backwards to Look Forward: History in British Feminist Periodicals from the 1850s to 1880

By mid-Victorian times, women were playing a significant part in their period's historical interests and practices, with special attention to the history of their own sex. Their participation in 19th-century historical culture has been discussed from a number of aspects, but the strong presence of history in women's magazines remains largely to be explored. Magazines for women showcase how mid-Victorian ideas about femininity hovered between conservative gender ideals and progressive alternatives, and this ambivalence is reflected in their presentation of history. Readers of such major magazines as the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* (1852-79) and the *Ladies' Treasury* (1858-1895) were regularly informed about the lives of "illustrious" and "celebrated" women of the distant and recent past, as well as the history of the household, leisure activities, and fashion and cosmetics. History in such articles was particularly used to mirror the position of modern women, to measure women's "progress" but also to point out how women and their contributions to social life had been marginalised or completely erased from a male-biased collective memory. Even in magazines that (outwardly) distanced themselves from the women's movement, history is thus employed to voice important concerns about women's status in society and their cultural representation. Against this background, my paper will ask to what extent progressive, feminist periodicals of the 1860s and 70s – *The English Woman's Journal* (1858 to 1864) and *The Victoria Magazine* (1863-1880) – offered their readers a different look at history than the big nonfeminist magazines, and whether they used history more radically to propagate their political and social concerns. In a final step, the paper will show how early feminist periodicals also took first steps to historicise the women's movement.

Lawrence, Lindsay (University of Arkansas- Fort Smith)

Valuing Digital Bibliographic Scholarship (See Patrick, April)

Leighton, Mary Elizabeth (see Surridge, Lisa)

Li, Hao (University of Toronto)

Language of Modernity: Rhetoric of Ethics in Late Victorian Periodicals

This paper examines an important historical moment of periodical publishing in late-Victorian England. It focuses on several articles exploring the meaning of ethics in major periodicals in the mid-1870s (*Westminster Review*, *Fortnightly Review* and *Contemporary Review*). By analyzing their discursive modes, I argue that their language reveals a complex understanding of ethics. It constitutes a process that transformed "ethics" from a classical, philosophical discourse into its modern semantic range as we know it today.

The conceptual modes of ethical debates in Victorian England have often been criticized for being "universalizing." While explicit theories of ethics in these periodical debates may involve imperative, prescriptive, and universalizing claims and assertions, the articulation of these theories often reveals an understanding of ethics as highly unstable, indeterminate and essentially contestable. Instead of validating the rhetorical privilege inherent in the normative sense of the term, the very deployment of the concept of "ethics" or "ethical" was for these writers tantamount to critiquing or even invalidating such a conventional privilege, since the basis of evaluation was frequently re-conceived for and by each specific situation. Such an awareness had huge ramifications throughout the late Victorian period and especially the 1890s when writers on ethics consciously appropriated the possibilities opened up by interpretation. Over this whole period, ethical language acquired the performativity of a convention, a strategy, and a trope.

This phenomenon marks an increasingly self-conscious and persistent attempt on the part of the Victorians to push beyond the boundaries of what they have inherited: an essentially Aristotelian but also, in many ways, Kantian tradition of ethics. The discursive value of ethical language in this period offers us a unique perspective into the connections between Kantian universalism and the affirmation

in more recent theory of a radical form of contingency. It also enables us to raise questions about our evocation of ethics as a critical category.

Liggins, Emma (Manchester Metropolitan University)

Singleness and Motherhood in the *Woman's Signal*, 1894-97.

This paper considers representations of singleness and motherhood in the *Woman's Signal*, 1894-7, a weekly paper aimed at 'progressive minded women', which originally featured radical fiction and articles predominantly on politics, suffrage, socialism, women's work, and their public achievements but increasingly displayed an emphasis on the home, fashion and motherhood. During its three-year run, this periodical changed its original tag-line from 'a weekly record and review of women's work in philanthropy and reform, and the official organ of the British Women's Temperance association', to 'a weekly paper for all women, about all their interests in the home and in the wider world' by October 1895. This was partly due to its change of editorship from Annie Holdsworth and Lady Henry Somerset to Florence Fenwick Miller, with Fenwick Miller making a conscious intention to broaden the readership by targeting 'that large circle of women' more interested in domesticity than politics and public affairs, as she claimed in an editorial of September 1895.

In this paper I explore the tensions between the paper's initially radical agenda, and its increasingly domestic focus, evaluating how modern it was in relation to trends within the development of the feminist periodical in the 1890s and beyond. Issues from 1894 endorse the value of female singleness and the figure of the 'bachelor girl'; Holdsworth's radical fiction about single women was favourably reviewed and serialised in this first year, and interviews with prominent spinsters and career advice were also regular features. Its discussions of motherhood are particularly conflicted, as it published articles on feminist adoption, women working in children's homes and philanthropy alongside advice for mothers on bringing up children and evocative adverts for baby food. From 1895 onwards, it modified its version of the 'ideal of new womanhood' to reflect this growing emphasis on 'tender and wise mothers', proclaiming 'women in the public sphere do not neglect their families' (October 3, 1895). Drawing on the arguments of Lucy Delap, Maria diCenzo and Cheryl Law about the links between feminism, suffrage and the periodical press in this period, and on recent scholarship on Florence Fenwick Miller, I reassess the contribution made by this periodical to changes in perceptions of the New Woman, and of the maternal, in relation to its negotiations of an uncertain modernity.

Lill, Sarah (Northumbria University)

The 'Bloods and The Ballads: Edward Lloyd's *History Publications*, 1836-7.

Edward Lloyd was amongst the best selling of the new breed of mass-market periodical publishers to emerge in the 1830s. Yet despite the significant recent critical interest in the works of ostensibly similar figures such as the radicals John Cleave, Henry Hetherington, G. W. M. Reynolds, and the more utilitarian likes of Charles Knight and William Chambers, his publications have received little commentary. Part of the reason for this, I wish to suggest, is that his enormously popular works offered the early Victorian mass market an unlikely combination of insistent immediacy with an attitude towards their subject matter which is drawn from a much earlier time. In this respect Lloyd's approach fits neatly neither with his contemporaries nor the way in which the culture of working-class periodical writing has been traditionally viewed. Lloyd remains notorious for the unrivalled bloodiness of the accounts of crime that he published in the early part of his career, so much so that in later life he took strenuous steps to distance himself from them. In this paper I will claim that these early publications are especially valuable for two reasons. First, if only because they were so popular, they offer a vital insight into the appetites and interests of contemporary readers. Second, their distinctive style, offering a delight in spectacular displays of gore, suggests Lloyd's publications' proximity to much earlier criminal writing. Lloyd's *History* publications deviated from the norms of the popular market: though written in the 'Newgate' manner like works by Dickens, Ainsworth and Bulwer-Lytton, they positively revelled in the salacious and spectacularly failed to offer clear moral guidance. In doing so, I will argue, Lloyd emulated most closely the carnivalesque mode of the

seventeenth-century ballad writers. He was an innovative voice in the periodical market of the 1830s precisely by virtue of his decision to cleave to much earlier traditions. By examining in detail these neglected publications, and situating them in this broader generic context, I hope to show the peculiar tenacity of much older traditions in the rapidly-shifting periodical culture of the 1830s.

Mazur, Ann (University of Virginia)

Divorce in British Periodicals: Blame the Americans and the Women

The installation of the Divorce Court in Britain in 1857 allowed divorce, previously accessible only to the aristocracy or very wealthy, to become a possibility for middle class men and women. With the foundation of the divorce court came a corresponding establishment in the British papers of the details of these divorce proceedings, sometimes shocking in their adulterous content. While literary scholarship has recognized that British periodicals at this time reflected the growing public concern over the prevalence of divorce, I argue more particularly that the press aimed to alleviate anxiety about specifically British marriages, by blaming foreign influence, or more precisely American influence.

Secondly, I propose that the consistently suggested root of divorce is the wife's premature action or inherent feminine susceptibilities that caused her to marry in the first place. Though the Divorce Court gave women more freedom in the ability to divorce, it also demonstrated an indisputable prejudice towards differences in gendered intelligence. While evident in the Divorce Act itself, which forced women to prove additional cruel conditions beyond adultery, this bias also worked to alleviate the perceptions of (at least the male) British population that Britain, as a nation, is viewing the marriage institution crumble before their eyes. Combining this feminine inability with the associations of divorce with foreign influence, American women unsurprisingly emerge as the "fastest" crowd of all, only more directed in their pursuit of notoriety than their British sisters. This dual reason for decline in public outcry over divorce reports, by grouping the foreign with the female, reestablishes the gender boundaries that the Divorce Act would seem to renegotiate.

The British papers sought to disassociate their nation from divorce—portraying it consistently as unnatural and fundamentally un-British. I briefly introduce the exuberance which with the British papers covered divorce, discussing the near-celebrity status of Divorce Court judges, Sir Cresswell Cresswell and his successor James Wilde, both of whom became stand-ins for the theme of divorce and the court itself. According to *The London Reader* in 1863: "It is certain that without [Sir Cresswell Cresswell] we should hardly recognize the daily papers. The number of sensation trials would be grievously thinned, and we should no longer have those numerous revelations of domestic history". To the Britons and the papers, the thoroughness of divorce coverage became a subject for satire.

Then, I move to a more in-depth analysis of *Reynold's Miscellany*, in which nearly all short reports of divorce are excerpted from American papers, and form a noticeable contrast with the other nearly entirely British-produced material. Americans elsewhere are portrayed as more headstrong and likely to be imbued in adulterous passions. As opposed to the reported purity of British maids and matrons, the *Miscellany* in 1868 reports on the general type of "AMERICAN FAST GIRLS," who: "[i]f she can't be divorced, at least she can run away, which she very commonly does with some faithless father of some large and interesting family. The larger and more interesting the better, because the more opprobrium, and consequently the more comment." With this blame of American girls in particular, and on the inherent incapacities of the judgment of women more generally, Britain becomes exempt from criticism of connections of the British nation with divorce.

McCormack, Kathleen (Florida International University)

"Nineteenth-Century Yachting: A New Recreation Helps Rule the Waves"

The perception that “Britannia rules the waves,” embodied in song by James Thomson in 1740, nevertheless dated from the defeat of the Spanish Armada and persisted with intensity as the Empire was reaching its peak in the late 19th Century. Meanwhile, a new kind of nautical occupation was growing alongside the flourishing empire of the period—the increasingly popular recreation of yachting. Yachting historian Dixon Kemp “estimated there were some fifty British yachts afloat in 1800 and as many as 503 in 1850.” My paper draws on Victorian periodicals which published material related to yachting to argue that their rhetoric confirms that the new recreation carried forth the venerable tradition that “Britannia rules the waves.”

Then, as now, yachting divided into two main activities: racing and cruising. Because much of the racing reported in the periodicals occurred in British waters among British vessels, claims to rule the seas, though definitely present, occur more rarely. But reports of cruises in *Hunt’s Yachting Magazine* (founded 1852) reveal that as British schooners sailed in the Mediterranean or the Baltic, narrators of the voyages most often regarded the foreigners they encountered as inferior or menacing and thus good candidates for subjugation or conflict (many yachts carried a number of small cannons on their decks). The author of “Rough Notes in Smooth Waters” (*Hunt’s* 1870), for example, generally finds that the inhabitants of the ports where his vessel anchors or docks dwell in shabby surroundings. As for the people themselves, the word “dirty” recurs, and the author insists that the meal serve his family in Tunisia consisted of warm camel meat harvested from an animal found dead by the roadside. The “Log of the Maia,” written from Gibraltar, offers evidence to justify British rule: the “dirty” Moors and Spaniards appropriately perform all necessary drudgery, while the wives of British officers maintain the same daily round of genteel calls they would carry on at home.

The paper concludes that cruising aboard the ever more elaborate and luxurious schooners gaining in popularity in the late 19th Century, as reported in periodicals such as *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Life*, the *Illustrated London News*, and *Hunt’s Yachting Magazine*, carried forth the tradition out of which they grew and that, even though not in naval combat or mercantile endeavor, British recreational vessels helped sustain the perception that “Britannia rules the waves.”

Mckenzie, Helen ((Cardiff University))

Books ‘are a kind of barometers, whose indications we must study with thoughtfulness and care’: the role of the reviewer in charting ever-evolving trends in literature

In 1866, the *London Quarterly Review* carried an article entitled ‘Recent Novels: their morals and Religious teaching’ which made the claim that books ‘are a kind of barometers’ for the popular taste. This review is symptomatic of a mid-nineteenth century attention to the constantly shifting currents in taste among the Victorian reading public. The identification of trends and genres preoccupied the periodical press and many articles, particularly in the 1860s, were dedicated to defining those new and ever-evolving trends in literature.

A few months after the publication of ‘Recent Novels’, *Macmillan Magazine* published an article similarly titled ‘Recent Novel Writing’ that was also indicative of the self-consciousness of the periodical press in the 1860s. Both pieces are illustrative of their writers’ sense of the power of the reading public and anxiety about defining their own role in the ever-expanding literary marketplace. The reviewers were intensely aware of the intimate relationship between the public and fiction and there are acknowledgments of this reciprocal relationship in which fiction reflects the public demand but is also responsible for shaping current taste.

Reviewing participated in that reciprocity occupying a fundamental role in the process of the production of serialised fiction and in this paper I will examine these two reviews as clear examples of the periodical press’ awareness of the rapidly changing literary landscape. Both articles explicitly equate readers with consumers comparing literary production with industry and, in particular, the railways: ‘Recent novel writing’ opens with the line, ‘Our literature – like our commerce, our house-building, or our railway system – grows and spreads at a wonderful rate’. The power of the reader as the consumer is emphatically acknowledged placing the author at the mercy of the force of the

reading public. ‘Recent novels’ is particularly emphatic in its belief in the importance of the periodical press regulating reading and exerting a measure of control over their readership and both of these articles betray anxiety about the diminishing quality of literature as sensation fiction grew in popularity and as consequently commercial success stood in conflict the aesthetic success.

My paper argues that there is a clear sense that these articles, and others like them, are self-justifying. Authors often made their livelihoods from writing articles such as these in addition to fiction and, in the context of a proliferation of reviewing and competition between publications, writers felt a need to justify the importance and significance of their own work. The *London Quarterly Review* article ends by defining the role of the critic asserting that books ‘are barometers, whose indications we must study with thoughtfulness and care, if we would know what currents of feeling are stirring the popular mind’. Just as fiction has a responsibility to shape the understanding and the imaginations of its readers, so the Victorian reviewer must read fiction as a means of understanding the changes and evolutions of the reading public.

Menke, Richard (University of Georgia)

“Touchstones and *Tit-Bits*: Extracting Culture in the 1880s”

George Newnes’s weekly *Tit-Bits* declares its plan on the first page of its inaugural issue in 1881:

There is no paper in the world conducted on the lines which will be followed in *Tit-Bits*. It will be a production of all that is most interesting in books, periodicals, and newspapers. . . . Whatever fault may be found by some with this wholesale abstracting, in the case of *Tit-Bits* it is at any rate done openly and avowedly, and no attempt is made to pass off extracts as original compositions.

What’s more, the contemporary conditions of textual production and consumption have furnished the journal with its basic rationale:

It is impossible for any man at the busy time of the present to even glance at any large number of the immense variety of books and papers which have gone on accumulating until now their number is fabulous. It will be the business of the conductors of *Tit-Bits* to find out from this immense field of literature the best things that have ever been said or written, and weekly to place them before the public for one penny.

The best things that have ever been said or written: in the 1875 preface Matthew Arnold added to *Culture and Anarchy*, he puts forward his famous definition of “culture” as “a pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know, on all the matters which most concern us, the best which has been thought and said in the world.” *Tit-Bits* has appropriated Arnold’s pursuit of culture to place it in the context of an age of textual oversupply. Furthermore, it has converted this pursuit into an assurance not of intellectual worth so much as of consumer value for the busy man of today.

Arnold’s lofty aspirations for culture make the connection an unexpected one. Moreover, he would soon attack the “new journalism” of the 1880s (his condemnation gave it a name), opposing it to the mission of culture to provide sweetness and light in a fractured, and fractious, democratizing society. Yet if *Tit-Bits* finds a surprising rationale in the Arnoldian approach to culture, Arnold’s best-known exercise in cultural selection also turns out to resemble the journal’s practices. Arnold published his treatment of the textual “touchstone,” in the essay that came to be called “The Study of Poetry,” just a year before the first issue of *Tit-Bits*. For Arnold, culture would provide the basis for comparisons between the best ideas and language and those that fell short of this exacting standard—a function summed up in his poetic touchstones, which also amount to a sort of exalted tit-bit.

In Arnold’s account, the quest for touchstones turns poetry reading into a form of virtual extracting or anthologizing. A reader’s appreciation of “the best, the really excellent” poetry via “[s]hort passages, even single lines”—touchstones—would create benchmarks for intellectual and aesthetic judgments, a purpose hardly obvious in many of *Tit-Bits*’ brief offerings.[□] Yet, especially in its first years, *Tit-Bits*

included selections not only of ephemeral anecdotes and factoids but also of the works of writers from Scott to Carlyle and George Eliot. And, in contrast to his *Culture and Anarchy* essays (published in the *Cornhill* in 1867-8), “The Study of Poetry” was first written and published as the introduction to a poetry anthology for the new mass education market, a cadre of readers that detractors such as George Gissing would soon associate with *Tit-Bits*. Touchstones and tit-bits emerge in the 1880s as filtering strategies for an age of new audiences and new markets for print, including the late-Victorian surge of newspapers and journals. In this paper, I’ll read these strategies and practices of textual excerpting against contemporaneous claims that information overloads and mass audiences would call for new practices of reading and of not-reading, as well as creating new opportunities for editors and publishers.

Morgan, Alison (University of Salford)

‘A storehouse of tradition and a spur to originality’: Peterloo poems and songs in the radical periodicals of 1819.

The battle to control the representation of the Peterloo Massacre in the public consciousness began before the blood had dried on St Peter’s Field on 16 August 1819. This seminal event resulted in the proliferation of radical weeklies, such as *The Medusa*, *The Briton* and *The Cap of Liberty*, all of which had disappeared by January 1820, victim to the repressive Six Acts, passed in the frantic aftermath of Peterloo when the government feared revolution. Along with the more established *Black Dwarf*, edited by Thomas Wooler, Richard Carlile’s *Republican* and Leigh Hunt’s *Examiner*, these weeklies contain not only editorial comment and letters but poems and songs written to eulogise the dead and rouse the living into action.

This paper considers the poetry written in response to Peterloo and published in these radical weeklies. By comparing these poems with the ballads and broadsides that also appeared in the immediate aftermath of Peterloo, this paper demonstrates the inter-relatedness of texts across a range of print media resulting in a powerful discourse due to a sense of collectivity. Central to this paper is David Duff’s argument that it is through the sharing and development of genre that texts become both ‘a storehouse of tradition and a spur to originality’ (2009). Poems and songs have a longstanding tradition within the English plebeian counterpublic sphere as a swiftly produced and widely disseminated method of information, commemoration and protest. The radical press in 1819 sought to replicate the immediacy and accessibility of the broadside as part of a wider cultural response to the events in Manchester as well as contributing in innovative ways to the English tradition of protest poetry. Through an exploration of these poems and songs, this paper highlights the intertextual dialogue between them which is illustrated not only by an ideological unity but also by the commonality of genres, tropes, motifs and styles. The resulting cultural collectivity is evidence of a vibrant and dynamic vernacular culture which was consciously engaged in ‘making and marking’ England in 1819.

Morgan , Jen (University of Salford)

Outdated utopias: the *Free Enquirer* and Shelley’s *Queen Mab*.

This paper will delineate the transmission of Shelley’s *Queen Mab* in the American Owenite Socialist newspaper the *Free Enquirer*, providing a counterpoint to the publication history of Shelley in Britain. Robert Dale Owen and Frances Wright edited the *Free Enquirer* and also produced the first American edition of *Queen Mab*. They used the *Free Enquirer* to solicit interest in the poem and to advertise it. The American and British contexts were qualitatively different in terms of the reception and transmission of Shelley. Pirate copies of *Queen Mab* appeared in British radical culture from 1821, and participated in the battle between radicals and the authorities regarding the issue of free speech. Reception of the poem cannot be understood without situating it in the history of the unstamped press and key players in radical print culture, such as Richard Carlile and Henry Hetherington.

The first American *Queen Mab* appeared later, in 1830, and in a context in which the publication of a poem was less contentious due to more a liberal intellectual property law and attitude towards free speech. Instead, I argue, the reception of *Queen Mab* in American culture in general would have been affected by contemporary attitudes towards the Owenite socialists who published it. As J. F. C. Harrison argues, the strength of Evangelicalism in American society at this point meant that criticism of the Owenites' atheism on doctrinal grounds was also a criticism that their ideology was outdated. I argue that this would also have affected the reception of *Queen Mab*, given its own debt to Enlightenment philosophy. *Queen Mab* was less of a presence in American print culture, contrasting sharply with its reception in Britain, where the poem was a constant presence in radical print culture for many years before and after its appearance in America.

I use radical, liberal, and Christian newspapers and periodicals in nineteenth-century America to argue that *Queen Mab* signified an outdated tradition to American readers but participated in an ongoing debate in Britain, where radicals used the poem as part of their intellectual armoury in a battle over the course of the future.

Murray, Frank (Independent Scholar)

‘Our Type of British Workman’: John Cassell, Thomas Bywater Smithies and Re-presentations of the Working Classes.

The seemingly inexorable progress of the ‘Industrial Revolution’ contributed to an erosion of the status of the worker by the ‘de-humanising’ of many modes of employment within an ever larger workforce. Zygmunt Bauman has argued that the factory system not only required workers to adjust to, and adopt, new working practices but that there were perhaps greater, more far reaching, social consequences associated with the introduction of machines into the workplace resulting not only in a division of labour but also in a ‘division of the labourer’.

While the working classes were often perceived as an undifferentiated mass by an ill-informed and largely disinterested middle-class, there is evidence to suggest that, by the 1850s a growing number of influential individuals sought to express the world of labour in new and enlightened ways by locating the place and value of the worker within the broader industrial, economic, political and social context; identifying the worker within, and relative to, the position of others in his own class while, at the same time, signifying the importance of the role of the worker in providing for the comforts of, and in securing the well-being of those in control of the capital.

In the field of periodicals publishing two philanthropic entrepreneurs made important contributions by introducing pioneering new titles specifically directed at the working class worker. In *The Working-man’s Friend and Family Instructor*, John Cassell sought to explore and explain, to a broader section of the population of middle and working-class readers, something of the nature and extent of working class respectability. Through the pages of *The British Workman and Friend of the Sons of Toil*, the editor Thomas Bywater Smithies championed the teetotal ‘industrious classes’.

In this paper I shall examine contemporaneous wood engravings and woodcuts in order to explore the some of the arguments employed by Cassell and Smithies in their efforts to redefine the British working man at a time when rapid urbanisation and industrialisation were sources of great anxiety and concern to the broad middle classes and the ruling elite.

Mussell, James (University of Birmingham) with Beetham, Margaret (University of Salford) and Philpotts, Matthew University Panel ‘What’s the Use of Theory?’

Mussell, James “In Our Last”: The Presence of the Previous in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical

This paper explores the interplay between continuity and the new that structures all serial publication. As the new can only ever be understood through its difference from the old, the two are constantly in play. However, we tend to overlook the agency of the repetitive, reducing it to a background against which we can pick out the exceptional. Expanding on a short position paper I wrote for the MLA

Convention 2013, my argument is that the repetitive features of a periodical, recurring issue after issue, are integral for the operation of mediation, and so must be taken seriously as a constitutive part of all serials.

My focus is on the idea of resurrection, on the way that the present issue invokes those that have gone before even while asserting its difference. Newness is always tempered by repetition in periodical publication as forms from past issues are repeated in the present maintaining continuity and allowing the identity of the publication to transcend any particular issue. Resurrection thus underpins the progression of periodical publication.

The repetition / resurrection of a set of formal features, both within and across issues, marks a framework that enables readers to distinguish something as ‘content.’ This is not simply a case of deciding between form and content, but rather between those formal features that can be overlooked as belonging to the periodical and those that are identified as belonging to its contents, reconceptualized as that which changes. Repetition, then, both enables content to emerge and helps define the contours of the mediating object that is archived, forgotten, passed on or destroyed. Spirit lives on, the body dies.

‘In our last’ was how nineteenth-century journalists and editors referred to previous issues. My paper examines the presence of these past issues, whether explicitly discussed in the pages of the current issue, or uncannily present through the repetition of its form. However, ‘In our last’ also suggests something that is disavowed in periodical publication: the possibility of an ending. The success of a periodical depended upon deferring this end for as long as possible. I argue that it was by maintaining focus on the recent past while preventing that past from encroaching on the present that periodicals attempted to delay their end. Yet this is not all. The copyright status of the nineteenth-century archive meant that it was one of the first targets for mass digitization. This new transformation radically alters the materiality of the periodical: in my conclusion, I explore the way this new materiality provides a different set of conditions for resurrection.

Beetham, Margaret (University of Salford)

Time and time again; towards a theory of the periodical?

The theme of this conference, tradition and the new, could describe the particular characteristic of the periodical form, each number ‘new’, of its moment, yet each always already familiar, shaped by the traditions and, pattern of that title- of the whole run.

Similarly, it seems there is a scholarly tradition of proclaiming periodical studies as something new or needing to be invented. In the 1990 volume, *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, edited by Laurel Brake, Aled Jones and Lionel Madden, Lynn Pykett reminded readers that James Mill had declared in 1824 that the periodical press deserved a systematic study and prepared to offer one. So did Michael Wolff and Joanne Shattock in the second half of the twentieth century. In 2006 Sean Latham and Robert Scholes announced that Periodical Studies was ‘rising’. These Eureka moments have usually been accompanied by a demand for a more systematic or theoretical take on the subject, one which recognises the complexity of the periodical and seeks to map it. I have myself been guilty of this. In the MLA Conference of this year (January 2013) Matthew Philpotts convened a panel also entitled ‘Towards a Theory of the Periodical’. It seems that, like the periodical text, the theoretical tradition is defined by claims of perpetual novelty and future promise.

So what now? In her brief paper for that MLA session Ann Ardis argued against a theoretical model, defending the importance of close readings- always within the parameters of social and political change. I agree with much of what she says. ‘The theory’ towards which we seem always to be travelling is not, as I envisage it, a Key to All Mythologies. Reading of particular periodicals remains crucial but – in my experience- these texts pose questions which demand resources from a range of disciplines. These include new comers, like Book History, but also the more established and abstract practices of philosophy and critical theory, on which we can fruitfully draw.

This paper comes out of my attempts to study what periodical time might mean in relation to some late-nineteenth century magazines some, but not all, aimed at women. To answer this I turn not only to other detailed studies of such magazines and scholarly work on seriality but also to histories of popular reading, theoretical work on reading by de Certeau and others, and feminist theory on gender and time.

Drawing on Mark Turner's important article on time in *Media Studies* in 2002 about the multiple kinds of time which nineteenth century periodicals worked within and shaped, I ask 'Does gender shape the ways time is represented and lived in relation to periodicals? Is Julia Kristeva's distinction between what she calls 'men's time' (linear, progressive, the time of History) and 'women's time' (circular, repetitive, domestic) useful? Or Luce Irigaray's discussion of sameness and difference? And how do these relate to other differences, especially class?

Philpotts, Matthew (University of Manchester)

How Long is a Victorian Periodical? On Fractal Dimension and Periodical Texture

My contention in this paper is that the distinctive form of the periodical challenges us to look outside the conventional paradigms of literary and cultural studies to develop new conceptual and analytical frameworks for this unique medium. More specifically, I argue that there exists a compelling and theoretically productive parallel between the complex and heterogeneous form of the periodical and the characteristic features of the mathematical sets defined by Benoit Mandelbrot as fractals. Infinitely complex in their fine structure, self-similar at multiple scales, and derived from simple recursive equations, fractal functions have been used to map the irregular forms that proliferate in nature, but these same properties also resonate strikingly with those of the periodical in its multiple and varying patterns of elements. Indeed, just as rock formations, clouds, and coastlines defy traditional Euclidean geometry, so periodicals defy traditional poetics. And just as fractal geometry provides tools to tame these complex and irregular forms, so it can furnish us with new approaches to describe and conceptualise the 'texture' of the periodical, understood as the complex and irregular patternings of its textual, visual, and material elements.

Mapping in detail the texture of a corpus of 19-century periodicals, this paper will explore the conceptual and analytical potential of the periodical as a fractal form. In particular, I shall demonstrate that fractional (or fractal) dimension can serve as a highly effective measure of periodical complexity, opening up the possibility of systematic comparative and typological analysis of periodical form.

Mutch, Deborah (De Montfort University)

Breaking with Tradition: Socialist Fiction, Socialist Periodicals and Political Change

One of the *Oxford English Dictionary's* definitions of 'Tradition' is 'the action of transmitting or 'handing down', or fact of being handed down, from one to another, or from generation to generation; transmission of statements, beliefs, rules, customs, or the like, esp. by word of mouth or by practice without writing.' We generally think of 'tradition' being a generational transmission of beliefs or customs but this wider definition allows us to use the term synchronically as well as diachronically.

This paper will consider the role of periodicals and periodical fiction in the transmission of socialist 'beliefs, rules, customs' in the wide range of socialist periodicals published at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although the dictionary definition specifies that transmission is often 'by practice without writing', the socialist periodical was not a repository for socialist statements but a vehicle through which they travelled before being put into practice. And this 'tradition', this 'transmission', had as its general aim – regardless of the particular socialism promoted by the different groups – the ending of the traditional two-party system of government in Britain: by revolution or by parliamentary socialism. The recently enfranchised working-class male was faced with a choice of Conservative or Liberal parties, both of which were descended from the historical Tory or Whig parties, which had traditionally served the needs of the wealthy land-owning aristocracy and, more recently, the wealthy industrialist. The *raison d'être* of the socialist periodical

and its fiction was to transmit statements on the necessity of political change which would become practise and end the centuries-long tradition of a two-party political system.

Newey, Kate (University of Exeter)

Nineteenth-Century Theatre Journals: Fads and Fashions in the Public Sphere

In the new media age of the 1820s to the 40s, amongst the many new journals produced were a slew of short-lived theatre magazines, weeklies, and daily sheets. They offered a variety of information -- from a bare outline of each night's entertainment with a short commentary, to ambitious attempts to set right the wrongs of the Drama. From this mass of commentary and public discourse in the early Victorian period, only the *Era* emerged as a weekly paper which lasted, and became a theatre industry staple until the start of WWII. Later in the century, the *Era* was joined by the upmarket periodicals which combined fashion, sport and theatre, such as the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, the *Graphic*, and the *Sketch*. But these journals, I will argue, never quite match the sense of speedy response and public engagement with controversy as the fly-by-night theatre journals of the late Regency and early Victorian period.

This paper will consider the fashion for theatre journals and journalism from the 1820s to the 40s, at a time of general public debate over the British theatre industry. The late Regency and early Victorian period was a time of crisis and change for London's theatre industry. Commentators' attempts both to construct and direct public discourse on the 'decline of the Drama' made theatrical journals part of an energetic public debate which connected with public policy and discourses of nation-making (for example, theatre regulation was considered by Parliament in 1832, 1833, and 1843). I will explore the ways in which theatrical journals, and the nature of the journalism within them, made regulation of the theatre, and the intrigues of the London theatre industry itself, part of a broader public policy debate about national identity. I am also interested in the way that the explosion of popular print in this period enabled and framed this debate. In what ways does theatrical journalism serve as an index of broader fashions in late Regency and early Victorian journalism in this age of new media?

Nicolson, Bob (Edge Hill University)

The American Future: Negotiating Modernity in the Transatlantic Press

In September 1878, William Ewart Gladstone made a prediction. "The England and America of the present", he argued, "are probably the two strongest nations of the world. But there can hardly be a doubt as between the America and the England of the future, that the daughter... will [soon become] unquestionably... stronger than the mother." The United States, he warned, was "passing [Britain] by in a canter" and would soon usurp its position on the world stage. It was essential, he concluded, that his countrymen recognise the inevitability of this impending transition and begin to address what he later termed the "paramount question of the American future." The publication of this prophecy is important, for it marks the onset of a transitional period in Anglo-American relations. Over the next two decades, the idea of America in British culture underwent a profound transformation – one which altered the transatlantic balance of power and had significant ramifications for the reformation of British national identity. At the heart of this process was a paradigm shift in Victorian conceptions of what this paper terms the 'American future'.

At the start of the period, the response of Victorian journalists to Gladstone's warning was almost universally hostile. *The Times* concluded that his reasoning was "at once redundant and defective" and was intended only to massage the ego of its American audience. The *Morning Post* accused Gladstone of seeking some form of revenge against the country that had rejected his party at the ballot box. Provincial papers, such as the *Blackburn Standard*, roundly condemned the ex-premier's "unpatriotic", "wild", and "sinister" prophesies. Even the Liberal-leaning *Daily News* accused

Gladstone of having “gone too far” with his “rash”, “sensational”, and “astounding” depiction of America’s “unrivalled future”.

Twenty years later, when the country mourned Gladstone’s death, this cultural landscape had changed. Whilst some British observers continued to deny, or at least resist, the United States’ growing influence, the balance of public opinion had tipped decisively. The concept of an inevitable American future was now in widespread circulation. By the end of the Victorian period, it was commonplace for commentators such as F. A. McKenzie to claim that an ‘invasion’ of American products and inventions had swept the country, for the *Daily News* to joke that British children should be taught American English (‘the language of the future’), or for W. T. Stead to describe the *Americanisation of the World* as the “trend of the twentieth century.” No longer regarded as an unstable political experiment, or dismissed as an underdeveloped post-colonial backwater, the United States was increasingly portrayed as a land of economic and technological ‘progress’, an influential player on the international stage, and the home of a distinctive brand of social, cultural, and spatial modernity.

This paper explores the role played by newspapers and periodicals in shaping this transformation. Part one explores the emergence of the ‘inevitable American future’ in British discourse. It highlights the United States’ growing industrial and financial power as the driving force behind this change, but also demonstrates how the concept transcended economics and entered the world of sport. It analyses news reports of transatlantic economic competition and explores the way in which they combined with daily financial bulletins and sports reports to communicate a pervasive sense of America’s new power. Part two analyses press coverage of the modern American city – the key space in which the United States’ emerging identity was expressed and decoded. In particular, it draws upon representations of skyscrapers and the Brooklyn Bridge in order to examine how the British press both communicated and interpreted modern America’s distinctive sense of scale. These two sections are linked by a case study of press responses to the Statue of Liberty – a monument which British journalists interpreted as a symbol of America’s growing confidence, as well as a defining example of what they termed the country’s insatiable appetite for competitive ‘bigness’.

Crucially, in the process of discovering this New World, British audiences were compelled to reassess their own sense of national identity. Finding themselves outpaced by the progress of the American economy and dwarfed by the size of the American city they fell back upon other, more intangible, markers of Britishness. The possession of good taste, for example, was increasingly defined in opposition to a ‘vulgar’ American Other. As the political, economic, and even physical balance of power gradually tipped in favour of United States, possession of this kind of cultural capital emerged as the defining feature of British national identity. It was through the cultivation and celebration of cultural values that Britain gradually came to terms with its declining economic and material power, and was able to accommodate itself to the idea of the new American Future.

Onslow , Barbara (University of Reading)

“The Changing Face of Beauty” – the re-invention of the *Book of Beauty* in the 1890s.

My paper will explore the re-invention of Charles Heath’s annual *The Book of Beauty* in the 1890s during that decade’s resurgence of commercial interest in the annual genre. Although in the early 1880s Andrew Lang could describe them as “...now so completely forgotten and out of date, that one scarcely expects to find that Wordsworth, Coleridge, Macaulay, and Southey, were among the occasional contributors” the concept of the illustrated Christmas annual had never been entirely forgotten.

The phrase “Books of Beauty” became virtually synonymous with the lavishly bound illustrated volumes whose heyday was the 1820s, 30s and early ‘40s. This was no doubt partly due to Thackeray’s mocking reviews of “badly drawn” images of women with “enormous eyes – a tear perhaps “ and “an exceedingly low-cut dress”; but also probably because of Lady Blessington’s skill

in promoting the idea of “Beauty” during her editorship of Charles Heath’s *Book of Beauty* (1834-47). Blessington, who also edited the *Keepsake*, became famous for utilizing her fashionable salons, which attracted writers politicians and other notables, to recruit celebrities as contributors to her annuals.

It was this alliance of Celebrity and Beauty that Mrs F Harcourt Williamson (Emma Sara Williamson) sought to emulate in her “The book of beauty (late Victoria era)” published by Hutchinson in 1896. Its sub-title describes her version as “a collection of beautiful portraits with literary, artistic, and musical contributions by men and women of the day”. Her account (in the *Lady’s Realm*) of the genesis of this resuscitation of a genre which, in the age of the New Woman, must have seemed old-fashioned to many, ascribes it to the current popularity of portrait-painting and the advent of the ‘professional beauty’ beloved by photographers during the preceding decades. The idea for a contemporary “Book of Beauty” was apparently mooted when a group of women visiting Ellis Roberts’ studio were admiring his portraits of society women. Hutchinson and his American counterpart ensured that the volumes’ formats reflected the sense of luxury and elegance that Heath had promoted.

By comparing Mrs Harcourt Williamson’s revival with the first *Heath’s Book of Beauty* (edited by Letitia Landon) and volumes edited by Lady Blessington I aim to show that the “late Victorian era”, in following its model, was nevertheless very much a reflection of the *fin de siècle* in format, illustrations, letterpress, and indeed its very concepts of Beauty and Celebrity.

Palmer, Beth (University of Surrey)

Charles Reade and New Uses of the Periodical Press

In the notes for his 1863 novel *Hard Cash*, the novelist Charles Reade lists several periodical publications to use for research purposes. These include the *Seaman’s Recorder*, the *Life boat Journal*, the *Journal of Insanity*, and the *Psychological Journal* amongst others. These journals correspond to the novel’s interests and ultimate plotline which includes shipwrecks and wrongful incarceration in lunatic asylums. Reade clearly sought out periodicals as a vital research tool and, I argue, saw periodicals not just as a repository of information to be mined, but also as representing contemporaneity and the newest thinking on any given topic.

However Reade’s notes for *Hard Cash* also include a ‘Memoranda’ written in a large and alarmed-looking hand stating: ‘This book will be a success if I fight against Nature and inclination and hunt up men and women and talk to them. Otherwise it will be a failure, and the worst of failures, a fine subject spoiled.’ It seems that, at least some of the time, Reade felt that research using periodicals would not be enough to secure his twin aims of engaging a popular readership and raising public awareness of social problems. I argue that these anxieties keyed into, or even influenced, similar attitudes shaping up elsewhere in the mid-Victorian press.

Reade had already engaged personally with an escapee from an asylum whose story corresponds very closely with the hero’s in *Hard Cash*. He wrote a series of letters to the press campaigning for justice on this topic in 1858, well before the *Pall Mall Gazette* (the vanguard publication for investigative journalism) began in 1865. These letters utilise some of the sensational, theatrical and personal devices that investigative journalists like the *PMG*’s Frederick Greenwood would favour. Indeed, the *PMG* provided a frequent and hospitable space for Reade’s campaigning letters over the ensuing years with the tone of the novelist-correspondent and the investigative journalist echoing each other through its pages.

Reade incorporated one of his most significant letters to the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the topic of the mistreatment of patients in asylums (‘How Lunatics Ribs get Broken’ (Jan 17, 1870)) into a later reprinting of *Hard Cash* and I argue that this literal interleaving of journalism and fiction emblematises Reade’s understanding of the novel and the periodical as part of the same process of mobilising mass interest in matters of political and social reform. The larger question of whether periodical editors and

investigative journalists felt the same way about the reciprocity Reade saw between press and novel is the question on which this paper will close.

Patrick, April (Independent Scholar), Houston, Natalie (University of Houston), Lawrence, Lindsey (University of Arkansas-Fort Smith)

Digital Bibliographic Scholarship: New Forms of Traditional Research

Introduction Bibliography has long been foundational to periodical studies, both as the precursor and as the outcome of scholarly research. This panel examines the history, professional implications, and future of bibliographic scholarship. Our interests in examining traditional and newer forms of bibliography grew out of our collaborative work as Co-Directors of the *Periodical Poetry Index*, a research database of bibliographic citations to English-language poems published in nineteenth-century periodicals.

April Patrick The Evolution of Collaboration in Bibliographic Scholarship

Of the many bibliographic projects produced about periodicals, a significant number have resulted from collaborative efforts among scholars, including *The Wellesley to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900*, *Victorian Periodicals: A Guide to Research*, and *Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800 - 1900*. The history of this work indicates a tendency away from the lone scholar writing a monograph and toward a collective approach to working on such projects. This collaborative turn extends across the field of periodical studies. For example, Theresa Mangum notes in a 2006 introduction to a special issue of *Victorian Periodicals Review* that “learning about print culture is a uniquely collaborative experience” (307). Much like the tendency toward collaboration in pedagogical approaches to periodical culture, the projects that emerge from studying periodicals often rely on sharing both ideas and workload. This paper investigates the evolution of collaboration in bibliographic projects about Victorian periodicals along with the reasons this scholarly work lends itself to a cooperative approach. Examples include narratives from the editors of the *Wellesley Index*, challenges of individual efforts in the first iteration of our current project, and our experiences in working on the *Periodical Poetry Index*.

Natalie Houston

Understanding Bibliography Differently Through Data Visualization

Traditionally, the discoveries of bibliographic research have been presented in the hierarchical and linear forms of the enumerative bibliography or library catalog entries. Printed bibliographies of historical materials tend to be organized around authors, publishers, or archival collections. Such bibliographies offer researchers access to bibliographic citations ordered alphabetically, chronologically, or by accession number. Additional indexes or cross-references may offer alternative ways to locate items in the bibliography. Library catalogs, of course, were designed to provide author, title, and sometimes subject heading access to citations. Electronic access to library catalogs over the past twenty years has added keyword searching and faceted searching to enable more efficient retrieval of desired items. Both traditional enumerative bibliographies and library catalogs are very effective in helping researchers find specific items within a large collection. But they are not very effective at generating a bigger picture of an historical research field, especially one that is not organized around a key author. This paper demonstrates the new possibilities for research and understanding that emerge from converting bibliographic citations from discrete items within a linear enumeration into fields in a database.

This conversion into database format allows researchers to perceive relationships among items that might not be apparent from a bibliographic list. Such relationships are best perceived through the use of data visualizations. This paper explores how bar charts and scatterplots allow us to perceive quantitative comparisons and how network diagrams can help us understand large scale patterns in the history of periodical publishing, using citations from our *Periodical Poetry Index* and from the Proquest *British Periodicals* database.

Lindsay Lawrence, Valuing Digital Bibliographic Scholarship

From the inception of RSVP and the *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, now *Victorian Periodicals Review*, scholars have called for and begun a variety of bibliographic projects. The numbers of these projects has only increased as new media scholarship and digital technologies have made archival work and bibliographic scholarship more accessible. Collaborative and innovative in its use of technology, digital bibliographic scholarship can be an extraordinarily fruitful for scholars, enabling new research questions and modes of seeing data. Yet, bibliographic scholarship often does not produce a traditional text—book or essay—as its end product. Indices, concordances, and online databases are in and of themselves the product of intense and dedicated research. Although bibliographic scholarship is the foundation for much of periodicals studies, this work is not always weighted equally to other forms of scholarship when it comes to promotion and tenure. The Modern Language Association, in a 2006 report, noted that “28.8% of departments” (11) surveyed ranked bibliographic scholarship as not important when it came to tenure decisions. Using examples from the *Periodical Poetry Index*, this paper examines the value placed on digital bibliographic scholarship by periodical studies and the potential our tradition of valuing such work holds for future research and scholarship. As the conversation about tenure and promotion around digital scholarship develops, periodical scholars can be at the forefront of reconsidering the role of digital bibliographic scholarship.

Penner, Elizabeth (De Montfort University)

“Old Boy, New Look: Bringing the *Boy's Own Paper* into the Twenty-First Century”

This paper originates from my current PhD research on the *Boy's Own Paper (BOP)* and provides a twofold examination of ‘tradition and the new’ by linking nineteenth century editorial practices with modern research methods. Focusing on the *BOP* under the editorship of George Andrew Hutchison (1879-1913) this paper will examine how Hutchison’s choice of the popular medium of juvenile periodical resulted in a miscellany of articles that presented conventional historical romances alongside the more recently coined genre of public school stories. In this way the *BOP* positioned itself as both traditional and innovative through its attempt to produce a publication that had an immediate appeal while also promoting timeless values. At the turn of the century, with the *BOP*’s popularity established, Hutchison faced a new challenge— how to appeal to a new wave of young readers without offending the paper’s older patrons.

Hutchison’s vision for presenting new material may have become dated over time but the recent digitisation of the *BOP* (1879-1900 issues), available through *Gale Cengage*, demonstrates the ways in which modern technologies and Internet-based archives facilitate new research methods. The *BOP* provides an extensive example of how the periodical is a uniquely adapting form and supports evidence that the periodical no longer holds the static position of nostalgic ephemera. Looking at these reversals of old and new, traditional and contemporary, this paper will explore how the *BOP* provides a complex and metamorphosing text that delivers a uniquely interdisciplinary dialogue.

Phegley, Jennifer (University of Missouri – Kansas City)

Teaching Old Periodicals in New Ways: Databases, Blogs, and Online Exhibits

In the past decade, the field of Victorian periodical studies has been transformed by the creation of a wide variety of digital periodical databases, some free to the public and others priced out of the reach of even many academic libraries. These electronic archives invite us to conduct keyword searches across publications, dramatically changing the ways in which we read, study, and generate knowledge in our field. This shift in the way we do our work offers as many challenges (including access) as it does possibilities. In this presentation, however, I will focus on the positive impact that databases and other digital technologies can have on the teaching of nineteenth-century periodicals.

First, I will explore the benefits of blog assignments that encourage students to engage in the process of serial reading and explore the periodical contexts of Victorian fiction. Next, I will discuss the creative and dynamic environment that can be cultivated through the use of the NINES online exhibit space, particularly my assignment of student projects organized around case studies of specific periodicals. When I assigned a Dickens serial reading blog for my British literature survey course, I found myself looking forward to reading my students' blog entries each week. I will explore this rejuvenation of my engagement with student writing in the context of Cathy N. Davidson's argument that students' blogs are "incomparably better" than their "traditional papers." Davidson points out that students' lack of interest in writing traditional papers may account for their poor performance as much as the fact that they "take their writing more seriously when it will be evaluated by peers than when it is to be judged by teachers" and, as a result, they turn in work that has "fewer typographical and factual errors, less plagiarism, and generally better, more elegant and persuasive prose" ("Collaborative Learning for the Digital Age" n.p.). I agree with Davidson that students are, to a degree, motivated by peer pressure when their work is published in the blog format. But I also think that students can more easily find their own voices in a blog while also writing in a critical, even scholarly, way. Even more important for periodical studies, blogs are in many ways the perfect format for teaching and learning about Victorian periodicals. Blogs are, in essence, serials. Students write serial posts throughout the semester and follow their peers' unfolding serials as well. As a result, class blogs mimic periodicals in offering an eclectic mix of approaches to a variety of related but distinct topics, texts, and issues.

Likewise, asking students to collaboratively assemble exhibits in the NINES online classroom puts them in a situation reminiscent of an editorial team working on an issue of a magazine. The NINES online archive facilitates students' interaction with databases that are beyond the realm of periodical literature but still relevant to it. For example, NINES houses web resources such as The Rossetti Archive, The Letters of Matthew Arnold, and The Old Bailey Online. Professors can set up group pages in the online classroom space so that students can build exhibits using content from their own research as well as images and text from the many NINES databases. In my advanced undergraduate/graduate Victorian literature classes, I've asked students to create online case studies of Victorian magazines that use sources from NINES collections as well as the ProQuest British Periodicals I and II database. Students develop a topic related to a magazine, seek team members to write about different aspects of it, and find period images to illustrate it. They must figure out how to organize multiple contributions that intersect but might have divergent arguments or points of view and assemble them in a way that creates a complex, intertextual whole. Mastering the technology to build the project is one thing, but using multiple primary source databases, each of which is configured in its own idiosyncratic way, searching for copyright free illustrations, and collaborating with peers are all activities that allow students to become editors of their own online publication. I will share some of these final projects and discuss both the successes and challenges I encountered in using online assignments that make use of periodical databases.

Philpotts, Matthew (University of Manchester) How Long is a Victorian Periodical? On Fractal Dimension and Periodical Texture

See Mussell, James, Panel 'What's the Use of Theory?'

Pigeon, Stephan (University of Windsor)

Eliza Warren Francis's (1810-1900) 'Scissors-and-Paste': The *Reverse* Transatlantic Movement of American Prescriptive Journalism

Stemming from my MA research on nineteenth-century cultures of reprinting between the United States and Britain in the periodical press, this paper examines the phenomenon of 'scissors-and-paste' journalism. Catherine Feely's 2003 MA thesis (University of Manchester) and contributions to the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* identify this practice in 'cut-and-paste' periodicals such as *Tit-Bits*, *The Thief*, and *Review of Reviews* where editors lifted whole articles verbatim and publishers were often boastful of this tactic. Feely's research points to an important

area of periodical research; however, her work is very much pre-digitization. With recent full-text digitization and the increasing accessibility of digital periodical materiality, my paper begins to expand this substantial and meaningful history of the periodical press. Bob Nicholson's work on the transatlantic movement of American humour into the British press is one such example of the opportunities digital search technologies affords 'scissors-and-paste' research. This paper examines another example of 'scissors-and-paste' journalism in exploring the transatlantic movement of prescriptive journalism where Eliza Warren Francis's *Ladies' Treasury* reproduced American works of didactic fiction through two distinct 'scissors-and-paste' techniques.

Originally printed in 1861 in the American *Arthur's Illustrated Magazine*, "Our Mothers," a story by Sarah Hepburn Hayes (1817-1902) was reprinted in 1863 by the British *Ladies' Treasury*, overseen by Eliza Warren Francis (1810-1900). This cross-cultural transmission was more than the traditional 'scissors-and-paste' with full-text duplication. Instead, the *Ladies' Treasury's* editorship purged Americanisms from the piece, superficially modifying, or 'translating' the article to read as decidedly 'English'. With few structural changes to the work, its motherly message and meaning remained intact. I describe this practice as a literary veneer, a linguistic overhaul where editors subject texts to superficial style and usage modifications to strengthen how culturally distinct audiences understood and appropriated the article's message. The linguistic changes provided to the piece strengthened the message for its new audience, keeping the author's initial message intact. The 'translators' were not just concerned with preventing linguistic confusion, but also with bringing the text into alignment with British manners and codes of respectability. The *Ladies' Treasury* practiced this process of 'translation' on didactic fiction written by unknown American authors; however, the late reproductions of works by well-known American newspaper and periodical contributor Fanny Fern remain intact. The *Ladies' Treasury* replicated Fanny Fern's works using traditional 'scissors-and-paste' methods by reproducing the whole article word for word with only minor punctuation changes. As I argue, a spirit of republican motherhood remained integral to the reproduced articles, so that widespread communities of female readers internalized didactic fiction's values and cultural expectations, reproducing these ideals in their own lives. I explore the possibility that British literary magazines routinely appropriated American didactic fiction in this way, often refashioning language to serve a culturally distinct audience.

The *reverse* transatlantic nature of this research works against traditional understandings of the relationship between American and British print culture, opening up questions of convention and custom in periodical publishing. Frameworks for the history of the book (Kaestle, Radway) have established an unstable American literary and journalistic marketplace relying on the reproduction of British print culture throughout the nineteenth century. Meredith McGill's 2007 *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834-1854* demonstrates the westward transatlantic flow of British print materiality, but does not identify the less frequent *reverse* transatlantic flow of original American works. This paper incorporates women's periodicals and prescriptive literature into recent examinations the British Press's Americanization (Weiner), locating an intellectual bond in Anglo-American print cultures through the spread of this particular type of journalism.

Pike, Judith (Salisbury University ,Maryland)

'Felicitations to the Brontëites': The 1895 Inaugural Issue of the Brontë Society Publications

In her early piece 'History of the Year' (1829), Charlotte Brontë gives an account of the newspapers and periodicals that her family enjoyed reading. She writes: "Papa and Branwell are gone for the newspaper, the 'Leeds Intelligencer,' a most excellent Tory newspaper. . . We take two and see three newspapers a week. We take the 'Leeds Intelligencer,' Tory, and the 'Leeds Mercury,' Whig, edited by Mr. Baines, and his brother, son-in-law, and his two sons, Edward and Talbot. We see the 'John Bull;' it is a high Tory, very violent. Mr. Driver lends us it, as likewise 'Blackwood's Magazine,' the most able periodical there is" (Early Writings). The importance of newspapers and periodicals in the Brontës' lives has been well documented, from accounts about the newspaper and magazine clippings found in Emily's desk (Allott) to the Brontës' juvenilia modeled after Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine (Alexander). In 1895, the journalist Clement Shorter of the Illustrated London News,

purchased part of the Brontës' famed juvenilia – 'the little books' containing entire stories in miniscule print (Whitehead). Branwell wrote the first 'issue' of these miniature replica magazines (5.2 x 3.3 cm), which he named Branwell's Blackwood Magazine. Charlotte would rename the later issues the Young Gentleman's Magazine. Moreover, new information is continually surfacing about the influence of newspapers and periodicals on the lives and works of the Brontës.

While this subject is most interesting, the subject of my paper concerns a very different Victorian periodical and its ties to the Brontës, namely the 1895 inaugural issue of the Brontë Society Publications. My paper will demonstrate the ways in which this Victorian periodical directly addresses the theme of this year's conference on 'Tradition and the New' as well as on its sub-topics of 'continuity or disruption in periodic publishing' and 'representations of nostalgia.' I will begin my paper with a background and overview of the Brontë Society journal and then look more closely at the ideas of nostalgia, the Brontëites, along with the idea of how the 1895 issue of the Brontë Society Publications reveals quite overtly its mission to create a new Victorian future for the Brontës, for Yorkshire and even for England.

The Brontë Society, founded in 1893, was part of a new Victorian trend – the creation of literary societies devoted to British authors (Leary). As Miriam Bailin notes, during the Victorian period, the study of literature in the universities meant the classics, but a growing interest and even debates about the study of British literature was emerging and led to the creation of numerous literary societies, most notably through the efforts of Fredrick J. Furnivall, who founded the Chaucer, Shelley and Browning societies. However, the Brontë society and its journal are distinctly unique in the way they dovetail with the conference's interest in issues of 'continuity or disruption in periodical publishing and editing,' 'Victorian futures' and 'nostalgia.' Unlike the transactions of many other literary societies, the Brontë Society's journal has survived intact since 1895. Moreover, even though many of these societies and their publications did not survive, especially through the turbulent years of WW II, the Brontë Society's journal did. In 1941, in the midst of war, the editor of the Brontë Society Transactions wrote: 'Paucity of news and scarcity of paper are the main reasons for a brief report this year' (BST 10.51). While this journal has evolved since the Victorian period, one must still ask if the continuity of this journal in terms of how its endurance may in part be due to its own nostalgia for the legacy of the Brontës. Does that continuity and the preservation of the Victorian future/past rely on too many relics? I will return to this question in my presentation.

My paper focuses on the inaugural issue of the Brontë Society Publications and its transcriptions of speeches and the reports of the first annual meeting of the Brontë Society. I will discuss how these written accounts clearly act to refashion not only earlier less appealing views of the Brontës but also aims to refashion the region of Yorkshire and its relation to the rest of England. The materials in this inaugural issue reveal its mission to make future generations see England as the birthplace – not of Chaucer, Shakespeare or Shelley – but of the Brontës and to represent Yorkshire as equally if not more romantic and alluring as the Lake District. Appropriately, one of the first articles in the journal is called 'Haworth; Home of the Brontës' which reads like a travelogue that colorfully repaints Haworth as a 'mountain village' populated by 'ruins of old abbeys.' While this writer transforms Haworth into a scene reminiscent of an Anne Radcliffe novel, another writer's description offers a diametrically opposed vision. Instead, he states that due to Charlotte's genius 'this particular district of England has ceased to be provincial' and has become world renowned as it 'draws pilgrims from every quarter of the world.' The Brontë sisters also become refigured and transformed into figures of Britannia. In his speech, Sir T. Wemyss Reid, editor of the Leeds Mercury newspaper, adds to this mythology. He describes how the Brontë sisters have 'taken their place for ever in the great gallery of noble English women' and gone are the images of their 'little oddities, the eccentricities of speech and manner, the homeliness of dress.' While this representation of the Brontë sisters diverges from Gaskell's iconic portrayal of them in her biography, other writers in these transactions tend to replicate Gaskell's portrait. While all of these various speeches and articles differ in their portrayals of Haworth and the Brontës, they all aim not only to preserve but to foster creatively what they have already identified as a 'world-wide Brontë cult.'

Included in these transactions is a record of a telegram sent from London by Mr. Charles Brontë Morgan. In honor of the founding of this society, Morgan's salutation reads: 'Felicitations to the Brontëites.' Interestingly, this greeting, sent to a fledgling literary society, so well befits the dreams of these men. But as one reads the numerous articles and transactions of this inaugural issue, one is left thinking that the aspirations of these men are far too grandiose and full of hubris. As Butler Wood records in his account of Alderman Brigg's speech, 'there was a new spirit rising, a new generation, in fact, who were willing and anxious that the Brontë name should be perpetuated'. At first, these statements appear too vainglorious or too nostalgic in their dream to create a never-ending 'new generation' of Brontëites. Their assessment that a 'world-wide Brontë cult' already existed in 1895 also might strike one as an exaggeration. However, no matter their hubris or nostalgia or perhaps because of their nostalgia, their aspirations have indeed materialized. Brontë Studies is still a thriving periodical, and visitors still make pilgrimages to see all the relics preserved at the Brontë Museum. And for England, if you ask a reader of British literature or even someone interested in film to imagine a British landscape, he or she is as likely to think of the Lake District as of 'Brontë country.' The description offered in the 1895 journal by the writer of 'Haworth; Home of the Brontës' as 'most impressive in autumn' with 'the surrounding moor is clothed in the purple glory of the heather' is still enduring. However, as I note earlier, one must still ask what are the costs of such nostalgia? What are the costs and politics of the preservation of any number of Victorian relics? As Victorianists, preservation is central to our field but what are the costs at times. In the case of the 'Brontë Country' today the debate concerns not trains or electric wires but wind farms and its impact on the area. Do we preserve the relic or attend to other issues like the environment?

Pusapati, Teja Varma (University of Oxford)

"Veteran Pioneer"? : Examining the novelty of the *English Woman's Journal*.

Launched as a monthly periodical dedicated to improving the condition of women in nineteenth-century England, the *English Woman's Journal* (1858-64) commands a distinct pride of place in histories of British feminism. Even while pointing out the extent to which it remained committed to the moral codes of the very middle-class domestic ideology that it sought to challenge, critics like Jane Rendall, Hilary Fraser and Sarah Dredge underline its significance as a mouthpiece of what is recognised as the first organised group of British feminists, the "Langham Place Group".

My paper will explore the idea and status of the "new" in the *EWJ*. On the one hand, novelty could signal the fitness of the journal as a sign and product of "modern times", of the century's own self-image as a period of innovation, advancement and progress. On the other hand, that which was novel could also be seen as outrageous, flippant, eccentric, indeed "new-fangled". As a journal that set out to unsettle dominant ideas of middle-class womanhood and to characterise women's professional labour as respectable, the *EWJ* had to tread a thin line in positioning itself temporally, as a sign (and a welcome one at that) of the times.

In the course of my paper, I will analyse how the journal responds to a documents like the census, presenting its agenda as an urgently needed experiment in remedying an immediate crisis. However, the experiment is also seen as being telescopic in its vision and necessarily gradual in effect. Time is thus both immediately seized upon as well as bought by a journal that proposes to be an agent of change. I look at how the reader is approached as a subject in transition, from an amateur to a professional woman, from a bored housewife to a busy, active and productive mistress of the home and a useful member of society. The subject of intervention is thus located in a chronology of professional and personal development. I engage with Ruth Jennifer's articulation of the middle-class professional's "simultaneously pregnant and collapsed relationship to time", as a person carrying within him qualities that anticipate the future, even as he "simply becomes what he was always meant to be" (5). I believe this double temporality is a particularly fraught one for the *EWJ*, as a journal that was trying to make the middle-class woman, something she had never been before, and was commonly understood as never meant to be. Novelty was also one of the most important sales pitches of nineteenth-century journals. It was one that the *EWJ* found increasingly difficult to sound as a journal committed to bringing out material change through relentless and repeated articulation of a

handful of issues. What “new” material distinguished one issue of the journal from another, making it worth the time and expense spent in producing and disseminating the journal? I will look through the full run of the journal, examining its relation to other periodical productions conducted by women and placing it in the context of women’s professional authorship in Victorian England.

Robinson, Solveig C. (Pacific Lutheran University)

“What Can a Woman Do?”: Late-Victorian Career Guides for New Women Journalists

In her 1894 *What Can a Woman Do: or, Her Position in the Business and Literary World*, Canadian-born journalist Martha Louise Rayne observed that “Thirty years ago a woman who wrote for the papers was looked upon as a great curiosity—a sort of nondescript who occupied a purely ideal position, and whose name was veiled from the contaminating gaze of the public under initial letters or some graceful nom-de-plume of the Lydia Languish school.” By the time Rayne was writing, the late-century explosion in print had generated opportunities on both sides of the Atlantic for a growing number of women to pursue journalism careers.

However, now that they were no longer viewed as “curiosities” or shaded by the anonymous and pseudonymous publishing practices of the previous generation, many women journalists evidently felt pressure to define and defend their profession against younger journalistic wannabes who thought it might be an easy field to break into. For example, Fanny L. Green sought to dissuade younger women of such ideas in a *Monthly Packet* article in 1891. “A woman whose idea in ‘taking up journalism’ is to provide herself with an easy, lucrative and unexacting career,” she declared, “had better leave it alone.”

From the 1880s into the first decades of the twentieth century, a number of formal and informal institutions arose to prepare and support women who were pursuing new careers in journalism and related literary fields. Among the best-known were the many clubs and professional organizations, such as the Writer’s Club, the Women Journalist’s Club, and the Society of Women Writers and Journalists, which sought to shape and guide both the new professions and their new practitioners. However, accompanying those more visible support networks, and particularly addressing the needs of women who were outside the metropolitan centers (and perhaps the social ranks of the more established writers), were a raft of career guides. Issued by periodicals and in volume form from various publishers, these guides were designed to help prepare women understand and pursue careers in the field of journalism.

This paper will look at how journalism was defined for women at the end of the century, and also at the kinds of practical advice being offered to would-be women journalists. Along the way, it will discuss some of the better-known and some of the long-forgotten “lady reporters” of the late-Victorian era.

Rooney, Paul (National University of Ireland, Galway)

Deciphering the Codes to *The Notting Hill Mystery* (1862-63): Hybridity, Periodical Coding, and the Novel Reading Constituency of *Once a Week*.

When compared with the advancements realised in the study of other prominent mid- to Victorian periodicals, it is surprising how little research into *Once a Week* (1859–1880) has progressed since Buckler’s brilliant if at times inaccurate 1952 paper on the magazine. Indelibly associated with *All the Year Round*, owing to the two journals’ shared inception in Dickens’s dispute with Bradbury & Evans, the conventional view of OAW is to a large extent defined by unfavourable comparisons with Dickens’s more successful magazine. While there have been a number of insightful studies of major name authors’ serial fiction contributions to the pages of OAW, very little light has been shed on the character and reading experience of the OAW audience. The eight to ten part genre fiction serials by minor writers, which featured prominently in this publication in the early 1860s, remain largely overlooked. A notable example of these works is Charles Warren Adams’ *The Notting Hill Mystery* (1862-63).

Building upon the narrative of the magazine's uncertain beginnings as documented by Buckler and Gettmann, this paper will use Brooker and Thacker's concept of periodical codes together with Philpotts' development of this idea to examine the early years of the magazine with particular focus on the transitional period of 1862-1863. Analysis of the temporal, material, compositional, and social coding of OAW in this era will illuminate the magazine's courting of both rising and previously untapped constituencies of the mid-Victorian middle class. The paper will contend that this threepenny title should be viewed as a hybrid publication, which blended miscellaneous journalism appropriate to the traditional middle class monthly and its newer shilling incarnation with the serial light fiction of the popular weekly. The model(s) of reader identity woven within this assortment of material will also be considered. Charles Warren Adams' novelette, *The Notting Hill Mystery*, serialised in the pages of OAW across November 1862 to January 1863 with accompanying illustrations by George du Maurier will be used as a case study to appraise the lateral and joint visual-verbal reading strategies cultivated by the magazine. In larger terms, this paper will also reflect upon the opportunities and challenges experienced as one sets about reading and engaging with a journal like OAW in the current digital age.

Rubery, Matthew (Queen Mary, University of London)
"The Newspaper of the Future (circa 1888)"

This presentation considers how the introduction of sound-recording technology in the second half of the nineteenth century influenced the press. Thomas Edison announced his plans to mechanically reproduce the human voice in a letter to *Scientific American* published on November 17, 1877. Three weeks later, Edison's associates assembled a simple device called a phonograph on which Edison recorded the nursery rhyme "Mary Had a Little Lamb." Spoken word recordings had the potential to transform far more than the entertainment industry, however. From the phonograph's first utterance, observers were powerfully drawn to the notion of a new kind of newspaper existing in recorded form, to be heard rather than read. Edison was the first to propose using the invention to issue "phonographic newspaper bulletins" on wax cylinders that could be sent to subscribers through the post. The idea of a "talking daily newspaper" was quickly taken up and debated by journalists who were eager to harness the latest technological advances in the service of the fourth estate. They posed the question: What would the newspaper of the future look like?

Edison's invention led to a series of predictions made in America, Britain, and France about the future of the newspaper in the wake of sound-recording technology. Such predictions reveal how journalists responded to the potential transformation of the news from print to sonic media. The phonograph promised to transform journalism in two ways. First, journalists would no longer write their columns but rather speak them. According to one editorial, their recordings would then be sold by newsboys running through the streets and shouting, "Daily Phonograph! All about the murder!" Second, customers would no longer read the newspaper; they would listen to it. They could do so in the privacy of their home or in public venues such as railway carriages. Such predictions take literally WT Stead's description of the newspaper as "the phonograph of the world."

Sound-recording technology promised to revolutionize journalism by turning the newspaper into a multimedia format. The idea culminated in the futurist fantasies of French authors Octave Uzanne and Albert Robida, who anticipate a public no longer satisfied with newsprint: "They will insist upon hearing the interviewee, upon listening to the discourse of the fashionable orator, hearing the actual song, the very voice of the diva whose first appearance was made over-night. What but the phonographic journal can give them all this?" Their concept of a multimedia newspaper is a bridge between Victorian print culture and the television journalism of the next century.

Sanders, Mike (University of Manchester).

'More dangerous than a thousand torchlight meetings': Thomas Cooper's *The Purgatory of Suicides* in the *Northern Star*

This paper examines the various ways in which Thomas Cooper's 'Chartist Epic', *The Purgatory of Suicides*, was mediated in and through the leading Chartist newspaper - the *Northern Star*. In particular, the paper focuses on a series of excerpts from the poem which were published (with an accompanying commentary) from September 6th 1845 to December 13th 1845. However, it also considers the other multiple manifestations of the poem in the pages of the *Northern Star*, for example, in adverts, reports of meetings and in correspondence. The paper explores the political and ideological significance of both the choice of extracts made by the editor of the *Northern Star* and their accompanying commentary. In addition to examining the interplay between the political and the aesthetic dimensions of the commentary, the paper will also ask whether the extracts and commentary are to be understood as primarily empowering or constraining their readers? Thus the main focus of the paper is on the types of textual relations which a periodical publication simultaneously engenders, mediates and negotiates with its readers.

Schroeder, Sharin (National Taipei University of Technology)

Lang, Letters, and Literary History

In 1899, after reading an unflattering account of himself in a letter published at the end of Margaret Oliphant's *Autobiography*, Andrew Lang declared that after his death his own letters would be destroyed and that no biography would be written: "Let us fellow-labourers make biographies of ourselves taboo. . . . If we have nothing else to leave, let us leave our malison on those who publish our lives and letters. Think what letters are: hasty, indiscreet, inaccurate" qtd. in Green ix).

Ironically, Lang's decision to destroy his own letters meant that he was often at the mercy of other letter writers. Margaret Oliphant's letter was relatively innocuous, but Lang's reputation has suffered due to the sentiments expressed in letters by Edmund Gosse, Henry James, and Thomas Hardy, some of whom believed that Lang's literary criticism, more than his letters, was worthy of the charges of haste and indiscretion.

I examine some Lang's undestroyed letters alongside his literary criticism in *Longman's* and *The Contemporary Review* in order to determine to what extent Lang's literary persona in Victorian periodicals can and should be examined in isolation and to what extent it is helpful to have Lang's personal letters alongside his published work. Lang is a particularly appropriate author with whom to attempt this study because his criticism is deceptively personal. Ever since Gosse and James, critics have disagreed about to what extent Lang's biases and persona took over his criticism. (See Demoor, Orel). In this paper I will show that, while Lang definitely has critical idiosyncrasies, his literary persona seldom expresses his most private views, which, are often more complex than they appear to be in his published prose. Although Lang could be quite polemical when he thought he was in the right, as in the case of his Homeric criticism and his controversy with Max Müller over mythology, Lang's literary criticism could also be rather cagey, particularly when Lang was discussing controversies for which there could be no decisive proof, such as people's testimony regarding miraculous and supernatural phenomena. When responding to these events, Lang's advocacy in favor of psychical research, combined with his unwillingness to state his own beliefs on psychical phenomena's validity, led to his work being pigeonholed. However, when Lang's articles on such controversial topics are read against one another and alongside his personal letters, Lang's views are surprisingly nuanced. A closer examination of them will lead to a better understanding of Lang's authorial persona and of late Victorian perspectives about the marvelous in life and in literature.

Schwab, Sandra Martina (Gutenberg University, Germany)

“ ‘Old England for ever [...], but burn your old habits!': *Punch* and the Young England Movement”

Since the late eighteenth century, the Middle Ages had attracted great interest in Britain: the upper classes not only adorned their gardens with fake ruins, but also built themselves fake castles, and the literary market was flooded with studies on all aspects of medieval life. Yet works of this nature, no matter how enthusiastic, would not have been enough to spark the frenzy for all things medieval which emerged in the nineteenth century. For this, it needed works of a different kind; fiction written by an author who filled the imagination of his readers with images of noble knights and heroic deeds and whose imitators would feed an ever-growing audience with ever more glorious tales of the days of old when knights were bold. With his dashing, honourable heroes, Sir Walter Scott, as Mark Girouard has pointed out, “created a type of character which not only was to be imitated in innumerable later novels, but was to become a model for young men in real life.”

Scott might have regarded chivalry as something belonging to the past, but the concept was soon enough transferred to modern life by people like Kenelm Digby, author of *The Broad Stone of Honour* (1822). He showed his readers how to apply the code of conduct for the knights of old – or at least what he *thought* to have been the code of conduct for the knights of old – to their own lives. The influence of *The Broad Stone of Honour* was enormous and long-lasting. Its impact, particularly on young men, is vividly demonstrated by *England’s Trust*, a collection of poems by Lord John Manners, published in 1841, when the author was not quite twenty-three years old. In “England’s Trust III” he bemoans the passing of the “happier days of old”, when monarchy and Church were strong, and

Each knew his place – king, peasant, peer, or priest –
The greatest owned connexion with the least;
From rank to rank the generous feeling ran,
And linked society as man to man. (16)

Like Digby, Manners looks at the feudal age through rose-tinted glasses, and his image of the Middle Ages resembles that presented in a Sir Walter Scott novel rather than historical reality. Such rampant nostalgia and idealisation of the past is characteristic for the Young England movement, of which Manners was one of the leading members. Much of the ideology of this small group within the Tory party in the 1840s was expressed in the language of chivalry: e.g., as becomes obvious in Manners’s poem, they yearned for a return to the (imagined) stability of the feudal age as an antidote to modern class conflict and the *laissez-faire* attitude of industrial Britain.

Ever suspicious of nostalgic yearnings and excessive medievalism, *Punch* was among the magazines which mercilessly ridiculed Young England and its members. While Manners received his fair share of ridicule – *England’s Trust* was ripped apart in the 1844 article “Young England’s ‘Old Nobility’”, which contrasts Manners’s idealised view of medieval life with an equally exaggeratedly negative view of the same –, the majority of *Punch’s* scorn focused on Benjamin Disraeli. For example, in “Young England’s Old Habits” (1845), an article tinged with anti-Semitism, Disraeli is cast in the role of a clothesdealer and tries to sell John Bull “cast-off notions” and “old habits” – a pun on habit, i.e. “mode of apparel, dress”, versus habit, i.e. “[m]ental constitution, disposition, custom” (*OED*, “habit”). Yet neither Mr Punch nor John Bull are impressed by what is on offer: “What, the deuce!” exclaimed John Bull, as he bustled onward. ‘Does the man take me for a fool? Does he think I’d buy a parcel of trumpery, worn to tatters four centuries ago? Old England for ever, I say; but burn your Old Habits!’”

In my proposed paper I am going to explore *Punch’s* reaction to the ideas of the Young England movement and attempts to use nostalgic notions of the Middle Ages to cement the (waning) power of the British aristocracy.

Score, Melissa (Birkbeck College, University of London)

‘A Provincial in London Society’: The *Morning Star*, Manchester and Innovation, 1856-1869
‘A Provincial in London Society’: The *Morning Star*, Manchester and Innovation, 1856-1869

The *Morning Star* was launched in March 1856, a year after the repeal of the newspaper stamp duty. It aimed to bring quality journalism to lower middle-class and artisan readers. Its founders, the radical

politicians Richard Cobden (1804-1865) and John Bright (1811-1889), planned to launch a cheap newspaper that would campaign on a range of issues including peace, free trade, abolition of all ‘taxes on knowledge’, the expansion of the franchise and wider access to education. It was regarded by contemporaries as the organ of the ‘Manchester School’ of political economy.

The *Star* sought to break new ground for a metropolitan daily newspaper. It published two distinct editions – the *Morning* and the *Evening Star* – a novel approach for a London daily. It experimented with new ways of using technology, such as its use of stacked headlines from telegrams during the American Civil War and the occasional placing of foreign news on the front page. Like its rival penny newspaper, the *Daily Telegraph*, it demonstrated a preoccupation with modernity by highlighting the role of technology in newsgathering, such as railways, steamships and telegrams.

I suggest that the *Star*’s business background was also unusual for a daily newspaper, involving regional and religious networks that included Manchester businessmen, members of the Peace Society and Quaker abolitionists. The *Star*’s identification with the ‘Manchester School’ marked it out from the rest of the London dailies, not always to its benefit. London readers did not necessarily view Manchester’s rapid industrialization as progress: parliamentary committees, factory reformers and ‘Condition of England’ novelists had highlighted the evils of industrialization, rather than the city’s cultural and scientific institutions and the economic benefits of its trade links with the United States. The quotation in my title comes from *Punch* in 1863 and highlights the *Star*’s anomalous position among London daily newspapers. As early as 1856, *Punch* hinted at potential conflicts between the *Star*’s fervent opposition to slavery and Manchester businesses’ reliance on imported American cotton. I argue that by the American Civil War of 1861-1865, the *Star* had in fact distanced itself ideologically from Manchester, a process that began with the defeat of ‘Manchester School’ parliamentarians in the election of 1857 and Bright’s subsequent election for Birmingham a year later. The *Star* took an unusually uncompromising stand in favour of the protectionist North against the free-trade South and was prepared to support the economic blockade of Southern ports, which deprived Manchester textile mills of raw American cotton.

The paper also hired and trained talented young writers, often from the provinces, who became its parliamentary reporters, foreign correspondents and columnists. These formed a network of journalists who went on to careers in other liberal publications including the *Daily News* and the *Manchester Guardian*.

Although the *Star*’s adherence to traditional advocacy journalism undoubtedly hampered its commercial potential, I argue that its influence was greater than its circulation figures suggested. Many of the causes it supported were ultimately successful and chimed with a spirit of modernity, such as the electoral reform of 1867 that paved the way for a subsequent rise in demand for cheap daily newspapers.

Shattock, Joanne (University of Leicester)

Margaret Oliphant and the Blackwood ‘brand’: Tradition and Change

The summer of 2013 marks the completion of a six volume edition of the journalism of Margaret Oliphant, the prolific novelist, biographer and reviewer whose work was closely associated with *Blackwood’s Magazine* over a period of forty-five years. Oliphant worked with two successive editors and heads of the firm of William Blackwood & Sons. John Blackwood (1818-79), the son of the founder, inaugurated her connection with the family publishing business in 1852 and became her literary advisor and mentor. His nephew William Blackwood III (1836-1912), who succeeded him in 1879, recognized her long and significant service by appointing her the firm’s official historian in 1895. Her two volume *Annals of a Publishing House* was going through the press when she died in 1897.

Oliphant's biographers, Vineta and Robert A. Colby (1966), Merryn Williams (1986) and Elisabeth Jay (1995) have variously documented her relationship with the firm and its magazine, as have David Finkelstein (2002) and Anne Scriven (2004). In this paper I want to look at the dynamics of the contributor/publisher relationship, in particular the ways in which, in the house magazine, the promotion of the firm's own publications was in tension with the need to remain dispassionate in reviewing. Oliphant was a key figure in the agenda to promote Blackwood books

I want also to look at the repercussions of a change of editorship on existing contributors, particularly when it involved a generational change. In Oliphant's case this meant uncomfortable negotiations with a younger member of the Blackwood family, with whom she alternately sought to ingratiate herself or to assert her seniority. All of this was played out against wider changes in the marketplace in which a traditional publisher like Blackwood struggled to maintain his position.

Shuttleworth, Sally (St. Anne's College, University of Oxford)

The Diseases of Modern Life in the Periodical Press

In the 1870s and 1880s, periodicals played a key role in constructing and affirming social and medical concerns with the pathologies of modern life. One can trace an ever growing number of articles focusing on the new strains and stresses of life, and the problems created by the pressures of velocity, whether in communication or travel. Particular concerns were voiced with reference to the pressures faced by members of the professions, from the financier through to the scholar. This paper will focus on the interplay between medical and scientific periodicals, and those intended for more general audiences, in its analysis of the ways in which these problems of 'modernity' were constructed and disseminated. In particular, it will look at the work of the medical reformer, Dr Benjamin Ward Richardson, whose earlier articles were collected together under the title, *Diseases of Modern Life* in 1875. Richardson went on to become a prolific publisher in the area, with articles ranging across a wide spectrum of periodicals, from *The Sanitary Review* through to *Longman's*, *Fraser's*, and the *Contemporary Review*. Of particular interest is the periodical he wrote and published himself, between 1884 and 1895, *The Asclepiad. A Book of Original Research and Observation in the Science, Art, and Literature of Medicine, Preventive and Curative*. Little work has been done on this periodical, but it offers a fascinating cross-section of all the various social and medical theories of the time which focused on the diseases of modernity. It also shows clearly how diagnoses of the problems engendered by new forms of city life, both environmental and social, were firmly linked to transformative visions of the future.

Smith, Casey, (Corcoran College of Art + Design, Washington, DC)

Daily Life in the Margins: *The Bookseller*, 1858-1900

The first issue of *The Bookseller* appeared in January of 1858; the most recent issue was published online today (1 February 2013). For a journal devoted to the book-trade, or for any journal, this continuity is remarkable. In itself, this uninterrupted run of 155 years speaks directly to the subtle negotiation between tradition and change. During the years I'm examining, 1858-1900, continuity was the rule. Changes in editorial policy, layout, and format were rare. And when they did occur, they were subtle. In most respects, *The Bookseller* presented itself in terms of functionality. It was a useful, or perhaps indispensable, tool for publishers and booksellers. In its first issue *The Bookseller* announced: "This work is intended primarily for the use of BOOKSELLERS and PUBLISHERS furnishing them with a handy book of reference, and doing for the Bookselling trade what *Bradshaw* does for railways, but so conducted that it may be equally useful for the Book-buyer as to the Bookseller." On one hand, it was designed as a tool: a place to find records of current publications that was more complete than those represented in *The Publishers' Circular* or any other book-trade journal. On the other hand, it provided the most complete source of news, gossip, and correspondence related to current issues in the book-trade. But *The Bookseller* also carried extensive job listings, bankruptcies, obituaries, and myriad other traces of the "everyday life" of the printing and publishing industries, primarily in London.

This particular source of “everyday life” information has remained fairly invisible to most researchers in Victorian print culture history. This paper will examine trends and patterns in this material over a 42 year span of *The Bookseller*. In every sense, it is a record of the dialectic between tradition and change: people looking for work, going out of business, dying, and so on.

This paper and presentation builds on prior research on late 19th century book-trade and bibliophile journals that I presented at previous RSVP conferences in Roehampton (Elliot Stock’s *Booklore* and other titles), and Minneapolis (*The Publishers’ Circular*). The presentation will be accompanied by digitally projected slides from the pages of *The Bookseller*.

Smith, Shannon (Queen’s University) see Horrocks, Clare

SurrIDGE, Lisa (University of Victoria) and Mary Elizabeth Leighton

The Modern Instance: The Parable of the Prodigal Son in Katherine Saunders’ *The High Mills*

This paper addresses the conference theme of tradition and the new by exploring the Victorian phenomenon of the “modern instance”—that is, the modern rendering of a traditional story in text or art. The text we have chosen is Katherine Saunders’ *The High Mills*, a serial novel illustrated by William Small and published in *Good Words* in 1871. As we will show, the novel is a complex rendering of the parable of the prodigal son.

New research on Victorians’ use of the parable form by Susan Colón establishes that Victorian authors drew extensively on biblical parables, not only alluding to them but adapting, modernising, and interpreting them as well as including what she terms “extrabiblical parables” as key elements in their texts. Colón argues that the parable form exerted a hitherto unrecognised influence on the realist novel, its structure rendering such a text more open to interpretations, to moral questionings, and to hermeneutic exploration.

Colón does not, however, explore the rendering of parable in serial illustrated periodical fiction, with its temporal rhythms, gaps in reading, proleptic and analeptic illustrations, and complex intertextual relations across the rest of the periodical. Our paper on *The High Mills* will integrate a full consideration of these crucial aspects of periodical publication. In particular, we will focus on the extremely complex relation of text and image that characterizes this novel.

As we will show, *The High Mills* tells the related story of two families joined by tragedy and intertwined with the well-known parable of the prodigal son: George Ambray, the son of a miller, represents a Victorian prodigal son who has left his aging parents to struggle while he pursues an art career in London. George is accidentally stabbed by his great friend Michael Swift when Michael tries to break up a fight between George and another man. When George dies from his wounds, Michael leaves his own parents’ mill, travels to the Ambrays’ mill, and takes on George’s work as his own, refusing pay. As yet, George’s family and fiancée do not know of his death; the story of the stabbing lurks in the background of the text while Michael, trying to be a substitute son to the Ambrays, leaves his own family without apparent justification (thus seeming to play prodigal son to them). For most of the text, then, Michael’s behaviour seems incomprehensible to those around him: the reader’s work is to reconstruct the analeptic story of the stabbing while contemplating the irony of George’s family anticipating his return as prodigal son. The text’s conclusion shows Michael at a dinner with his family, having served jail time for manslaughter. This reunion (which echoes the killing of the fatted calf in the parable) is marked by coldness until George’s father appears to hail Michael as his adopted son and forgive him for his son’s death. The tale of the prodigal son, with its story of abandonment, return, repentance, and familial forgiveness, is thus rendered in complex moral terms in the Victorian present. The old is made new.

The text’s illustrations increase this temporal juxtaposition of old and new, rendering the life of the mill as well as George’s childhood in vivid detail but occluding George’s life as prodigal in London. They represent, in short, the son as beloved but not prodigal; they represent Michael as not beloved

and not as son, even as he strives to substitute for the prodigal son whom they have lost. In addition, the illustrations repeatedly show events out of chronological and narrative order, suggesting a mode of reading that works against temporal progression and towards other forms of interpretation. The multiple ironies and temporal complexities of this serial novel thus expand what Susan Colón has identified as the hermeneutic complexities and openness of the parable form.

Works Cited: Colón, Susan. *Victorian Parables*. London: Continuum, 2012. Saunders, Katherine. *The High Mills. Good Words* (1871).

Tate, Steve (Blackburn College)

In search of the penny-a-liner: A study in a newspaper stereotype

This paper seeks to throw light on the role of the penny-a-liner in the development of the Victorian popular press. The ‘liner’ was a member of a fluid corps of freelance contributors, full-time and casual, who reported much of what today might be termed the ‘hard news’ that appeared in the columns of many nineteenth century newspapers – the street crime, the courts and inquests, fires, floods and accidents. This foot soldier of the press toiled on the twilight shift of news production. He was often portrayed as a larger-than-life figure, a ubiquitous character in the make-up of the Victorian city press, yet at the same time, one occupying a peripheral and shadowy role in the industry’s development, and a type often ridiculed as prone to naivety, base calculation, and even open to the dishonest manipulation of the news – or any combination of the three. Much of the evidence that remains for the careers, status and modus operandi of the ‘liner’, news runner, or outside reporter – apart from the stories they wrote – is to be found in journalists’ autobiographies and volumes of reminiscences feeding the general public’s appetite for insight into the burgeoning newspaper industry. The ‘liner’ was paid at the approximate rate of 1d per line of type produced from the story submitted, and the trade’s open access, blatant commercialism, and competitive nature, combined with unregulated working methods and a certain disdain among the higher branches of journalism for the type of news produced, left the ‘liner’ open to derision and suspicion both within the industry and beyond. Eventually, as both the news industry and news agenda matured and developed, the trade of the independent penny-a-liner became subsumed within the news agencies serving Fleet Street and the larger cities of the provinces, to such an extent that industry commentators were moved to note the seeming demise of this colourful industry stereotype by the close of the nineteenth century. The alleged stock-in-trade of the ‘liner’, his comic verbosity and convoluted turn of phrase designed to extract greater payments, has perhaps clouded modern perceptions of this central figure in popular newspaper history, and this paper attempts to open up the ‘liner’ to greater investigation.

Vargo, Greg (New York University)

The Literary and Visual Traditions of the Radical Press Panel by Rob Breton, Ian Haywood, and Greg Vargo (Deborah Mutch moderator)

This panel will investigate various literary and visual traditions in the radical and Chartist press of the late 1830s and 1840s, emphasizing the way radical print culture both contested and appropriated a range of dominant cultural forms and genres. We consider, respectively, visual satire aimed at Queen Victoria, which undercut the mainstream press’s celebration of the young monarch; the Scottish *Chartist Circular*’s adaptation of historical romance in the school of Sir Walter Scott; and the relationship between Elizabeth Gaskell’s left-wing Unitarianism and Chartist educational theory as promoted by *McDouall’s Chartist and Republican Journal* and other radical periodicals.

Haywood, Ian (University of Roehampton)

‘Getting Ready for Another Royal Bantling’: Satires of Queen Victoria in the Chartist and Radical Press

Ian Haywood's 'Getting Ready for Another Royal Bantling': satires of Queen Victoria in the Chartist and radical press' investigates the collision between the tradition of radical print culture and the emergent image of the new 'media monarch' Queen Victoria in the Chartist period. As John Plunkett observes, 'The extent of Victoria's ubiquitous presence has to be continually set against the critiques and satire that it aroused' (Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch (2003), 10). Focusing on visual satire, Haywood will show how the illustrated radical press lampooned Victoria as a 'Royal Performer' (The Charter 10 February 1839), a puppet of spectacle and ritual display, and the centre of a wider royal farce involving parsimonious German 'paupers', tax-eating royal brats, phoney oratory and sympathy, and – above all - a perpetually fleeced John Bull. In competition with a flood of pro-monarchical imagery, the verbal and visual antics of papers such as the Penny Satirist, Odd Fellow, and Cleave's Gazette of Variety are a refreshing reminder of an oppositional anti-monarchical sub-culture that flourished in the teeth of a major hegemonic offensively depressingly reminiscent of the present-day media's sycophantic obsession with royalty.

Greg Vargo (New York University) , Useful Knowledge is Power? Education and Improvement in the Chartist Press

The emphasis on the influence of Unitarian philanthropic institutions on Elizabeth Gaskell's condition of England novel *Mary Barton* has sometimes obscured other vectors of contact between Gaskell and the working-class community about which she wrote. Greg Vargo's 'Education and Self-help in the Chartist Press and Elizabeth Gaskell's *Mary Barton*' suggests the influence of working-class educational theory on Gaskell's thought by sketching the affinities the novel shares with ideas about self-help and improvement widely disseminated in Chartist print culture in the 1840s and taken up by a circle of left-wing Unitarians who constituted Gaskell's most important intellectual and political network. Like the Chartists, Gaskell was skeptical of ideas that treated knowledge as purely instrumental. Her novel instead celebrated the wide-ranging, eclectic, and humanistic obtainments of her working-class characters while documenting how learning was socially embedded. Focusing on *McDouall's Chartist and Republican Journal*, an unstamped weekly published in the Manchester region in the early 1840s, this paper suggests that the Chartist press promoted collective forms of education and self-improvement as one of its central projects. *McDouall's* reported contemporary debates about literacy and learning and aimed to rebut middle-class stereotypes that justified a monopoly on political privilege with claims of working-class ignorance. Its diverse contents themselves attempted to integrate an education about political rights with a more general program of learning. Situating Gaskell in a network of progressive Unitarians deeply engaged with Chartist ideas about education not only renders more coherent perceived antinomies in Gaskell's politics, it also elucidates the complexity of ideas about self-improvement in the 1840s, suggesting a political malleability that made certain versions of self-help compatible with fundamental challenges to the status quo and others with more conservative ideologies.

Breton, Rob (Nipissing University) 'The Tradition of the Oppressed' in Chartist Historical Fiction

Despite characterizing Sir Walter Scott as 'impregnated with the filthiest spawn of rank toryism,' the writers of the Scottish *Chartist Circular* clearly appreciated the historical romance and the exhilarating historiography Scott made popular. The *Circular* is filled with dramatized biographical sketches, action-packed historical novellas, and sketch after sketch of fictionalized histories of revolutionary activity where rebels attempt to repel foreign occupiers. But the Chartist version of the historical romance counters Scott's story and the popular, mainstream Victorian narrative in more ways than it reproduces them. The structure of the Chartist story is nearly always the same: the villain is an authority figure from a privileged class and the hero a rebel of some sort: personal motivations abound as the impetus for action, but class conflict organizes nearly all the characterization and plotting. Victorious at first to some degree against the autocrat oppressor, the hero of the Chartist story suffers defeat, is martyred, and becomes a symbol of the inevitable defeat of the individual against established hierarchies. This pattern of unsuccessful or incomplete vengeance, often

accompanied by representations of dignity while suffering the tyrant's torture and cruelty, conflates with a messianic narrative that rests on a paradox which only the participation of a revolutionary people could resolve – only under tyranny does heroism emerge, but under tyranny individual heroism fails.

Rob Breton's 'The "Tradition of the Oppressed" in Chartist Historical Fiction,' examines historical romance as it appears in the Scottish *Chartist Circular*, and the ways it provided access for readers to vicariously participate in revolution and identify with revolutionaries. With its broad geographical and historical range of references, covering rebellions from ancient Peru to revolutionary France, the proleptic history of the *Circular* also practices a type of cohesive internationalism that ultimately presents Scottish Chartism as part of a global and natural step towards change. This paper seeks to map out and explicate the patterns of Chartist historical fiction.

Van Remoortel, Marianne (Ghent University, Belgium)

Who Do You Think They Were? What Genealogy Websites Can Do for Periodical Studies

Perhaps one of the most tantalizing challenges of Victorian periodical studies is dealing with questions of attribution and identity. Many periodical texts were published anonymously or pseudonymously, and even when signed with (what seems to be) someone's real name, they rarely tell us anything about who an author, journalist, editor etc. really was and why he or she worked for or at least contributed material to the periodical press. As Barbara Onslow writes in her seminal study *Women of the Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (2000): 'Scanning runs of journals, one's eye is caught by once popular, almost forgotten names like Mrs T K Hervey and Miss Pardoe, and others less familiar and less frequent. Who was Maria Norris whose "A Few Words on Geology" earned her a by-line in *The Ladies' Cabinet* in 1852? Or Mrs White who surfaced in ladies' papers about the same time? We may never know the extent of women's work in these areas'. (p. 82) In a few specific case studies presented at past RSVP conferences and published in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, I have started to experiment with digitized historical sources such as parish records and census data as one way of taking on the challenge. I have reconstructed the lives and careers of "Mrs Warren," editor of the long-running women's magazine *The Ladies' Treasury* and of the prolific needlework instructor "Mrs Pullan," both of whom we knew nothing about beyond their names and their signed contributions to the press, although they were definitely household names in their own lifetimes. This research revealed significant gaps or disconnects between the public voices these women constructed and the private lives they were leading. As "Mrs Warren," Eliza Warren Francis (1810-1900) contributed countless pieces to her own magazine in which she presented herself as an authority on children's education, household management and middle-class family life. In reality, she was a widowed, childless boarding-house keeper who was struggling to make ends meet. Matilda Pullan (1819-1862) provided women on a regular basis with patterns for knitting, crocheting or embroidering objects that assumed the nuclear middle-class family as a norm. The fabric of her own life, however, was dotted with the rips and darned patches of unconventional choices, circumstances, and events. Pullan had deeply personal reasons for capitalizing on the market imperatives of the periodical press: she was a widow raising an illegitimate son and she escaped a second, oppressive marriage by fleeing to the United States with her child. Last year at the conference in Austin, moreover, I traced the identities and life trajectories of twelve female typesetters who worked at Emily Faithfull's Victoria Press in London – women who belonged to a group Onslow calls the "handmaids" of the Victorian periodical press and about whom we generally know very little, precisely because they worked behind the screens.

In my paper I aim to demonstrate the vast array of new possibilities offered by popular genealogy websites such as Ancestry.com, FindMyPast.com and FamilySearch.org for tracing the life trajectories of the men and women who helped to build the vast body of texts that we now study as "the Victorian periodical press." The new approaches I will demonstrate will be both qualitative and quantitative. First, I will show how digital genealogical databases can be used to unlock a wealth of information

about who a particular (named) contributor to the press was in terms of gender, class, location and family background. To demonstrate how this works, I will do a brief experimental “ethnography” of single issue of a given periodical published in one of the census years (e.g. 1871 or 1881). Do the profiles of the contributors confirm our assumptions about who the readers of the magazine were or do they tell us something new? Secondly, I will explore the possibilities (and limitations) that censuses offers for quantitative research. Even the possibilities of digital research methods are limited. Data may be missing or may have been mistranscribed, or people may simply have chosen not to register themselves as working for the press, if for instance they had another more important source of income. Still, these data create new opportunities for further research, providing us with plenty of names of press employees, notably of the backroom workers, who were never credited for their work in print. Finally, I want to explore very briefly how digital research can enable us to go back to the archives and dig up new information on individual people’s involvement with the periodical press.

Vuohelainen, Minna (Edge Hill University)

‘A new detective method’: *Strand Magazine*, the serial detective story, and Richard Marsh’s Judith Lee

The fiction papers of the fin de siècle, most famously the *Strand Magazine*, provided their urban lower-middle-class readers with topical, entertaining and reasonably priced reading material. The demands of these readers ushered in the golden age of the short story, ideally suited as a literary format to the increasing real income, limited educational opportunities, and fragmented leisure patterns of the newly literate classes. This paper examines the *Strand*’s deployment of the serial short story format following the success of Arthur Conan Doyle’s Sherlock Holmes stories, which ran in the newly established monthly from July 1891. Halfway between the serial *novel* and the *unconnected* short story, the serial short story simultaneously created continuity and produced a self-contained reading experience that could be completed in one sitting, even on public transport; it also made it possible for busy readers to miss an instalment without losing the plot. As Doyle later explained,

it had struck me that a single character running through a series, if it only engaged the attention of the reader, would bind that reader to that particular magazine. On the other hand, it had long seemed to me that the ordinary serial might be an impediment rather than a help to a magazine, since, sooner or later, one missed one number and afterwards it had lost all interest. Clearly the ideal compromise was a character which carried through, and yet instalments which were each complete in themselves, so that the purchaser was always sure that he could relish the whole contents of the magazine. I believe that I was the first to realize this and “The Strand Magazine” the first to put it into practice.

The paper explores the use and development of this innovative format in the *Strand* in the fin-de-siècle period by examining how other popular professional writers adopted and adapted the serial format. The paper explores how Richard Marsh (1857-1915), a thoroughly professional manipulator of the short story format and a regular contributor to the *Strand*, used the format in his detective fiction. It offers a case study of Marsh’s female detective Judith Lee, whose adventures appeared in the *Strand* in 1911-16. The editor of the *Strand* was clearly aware of Lee’s novelty value when introducing the new series:

A new detective method is such a rare thing that it is with unusual pleasure we introduce our readers to Judith Lee, the fortunate possessor of a gift which gives her a place in detective fiction. Mr Marsh’s heroine is one whose fortunes, we predict with confidence, will be followed with the greatest interest from month to month. (*Strand Magazine* August 1911)

The paper examines how Marsh both uses the (in itself innovative) but also by then established serial format *and* subverts the reader’s expectations by introducing a novelty detective figure in his lip-reading, multi-lingual, racially and sexually ambiguous female investigator in possession of martial arts skills. It thus charts the mingling of tradition and novelty in Marsh’s addition to the *Strand*’s impressive arsenal of fictional detectives.

Waters, Catherine (University of Kent)

The master's apprentices: Dickens, *Household Words* and the development of the Victorian 'special correspondent'

Upon its launch in 1850, Dickens carefully positioned *Household Words* as a new miscellany within the mid-Victorian periodical market: combining cheapness of form and price with the serialisation of original fiction, poetry and informational articles on a wide range of topics. Looking back upon his memories of working with Dickens as a contributor to the journal, Percy Fitzgerald observed that 'it is only when contrasting *Household Words* with its penny or half-penny contemporaries that we see at once what a new and original thing it was.' I have argued elsewhere (*Commodity Culture in Dickens's Household Words*, 2008) that its newness and originality were largely attributable to the journal's imaginative handling of its non-fictional prose. But a dimension of this innovativeness that has not yet received sufficient critical attention is its despatch of younger journalists and other contributors 'out on the road to look for copy', as John Drew puts it (*Dickens the Journalist*, 2003, 182); namely, its role in the development of the Victorian special correspondent.

While the employment of foreign correspondents for daily papers like the *Times* dates from the early nineteenth century, and Henry Mayhew's reports on London labour and the London poor for the *Morning Chronicle* in 1849-50 carried the by-line 'From our special correspondent,' the peculiar role of the 'special' as a roving journalist sent out to report upon particular events, really begins in the 1850s, with the famous Crimean War reports of William Howard Russell for the *Times* and, arguably, with Dickens's deployment of 'specials' to write sketches of travel, life and manners from places across the globe for his new journal. Among its other innovations, *Household Words* provided contributors such as George Augustus Sala, Eustace Grenville Murray, Percy Fitzgerald, John Hollingshead and Walter Thornbury, with an apprenticeship in the techniques of journalistic 'word-painting' that would come to distinguish 'special correspondence' as a new genre within Victorian print culture.

Walton, Susan (University of Hull)

'Continuity and Change over Forty Years: Charlotte Yonge's editorship of *The Monthly Packet* 1851-91'

Charlotte Yonge's unbroken forty-year editorship of *The Monthly Packet*, the magazine she founded in 1851, provides an unusual opportunity to witness and assess the evolution of a conservative periodical. In 1891, in the last volume under her sole editorship, Yonge herself reflected on the astonishing changes that had taken place in the lives of her readers since the foundation of the magazine – 'the progress of change, which has brought much advance in opportunity ... , for better and worse' ('Nous avons changé tout cela' *MP*, N.S. I, 1891, p. 29). The success of Yonge's navigation from 1851-91 lay in her ability to respond and adapt to the transformations in society, especially those that affected the lives of young women, while simultaneously maintaining an unswerving commitment to the objectives she had set down in the very first issue. Her main concern then was to provide a forum for the 'self-education' of young women; to encourage them to use their time usefully, to train their minds, as '[t]hese studies ought to answer to the collegiate training which fits a man for active life' (*MP* II, 1851, p. 479). From its beginnings in 1851 she had urged readers to take up serious study to prevent them from becoming 'one of the dull, prosy, more house-keeping, frivolous women' (*MP*, II, 1851, p. 478). She continued to advocate this but over the years allowed her views on the value of girls' schools and colleges to evolve, using the magazine as a place where such key topics could be examined and discussed. *The Monthly Packet*, provided Yonge with a platform from which she could guide, inspire, and affect generations of young women, many of whom did not have the experience of formal schooling and/or lived at a distance from possibilities for self-improvement.

Central to this theme of what we might now call 'distance-learning' was Yonge's belief in the vital role of history to impart a sense of proportion and understanding. The re-telling of historical stories

appeared in many guises in the periodical, both as fiction and fact, written by Yonge herself and by other contributors. But the single most consistent feature was the ‘series of scenes from history’ called ‘Cameos’, written by Yonge, which aimed ‘to show you the examples, both good and evil, of historical persons, and may tell you of the workings of God’s providence both here and in other lands’ (*MP*, I, 1851, p. ii). Issue I in January 1851 opened with the first Cameo, ‘The Church in Northumbria’ in the 7th Century. Through subsequent decades her monthly Cameos worked through incidents in English and European History from the Middle Ages up to the late 18th Century, each essay an epitome of research and in-depth knowledge, and later published separately in eight volumes.

The magazine’s full title was *The Monthly Packet of Evening Readings for Younger Members of the Church of England* and emerged from the Oxford Movement soon after Newman and others had defected to the Roman Catholic Church - a time ‘of more than ordinary trial, [when] our middle path seems to have grown narrower than ever’ (*MP*, Introductory Letter, I, 1851, p. iii). While the majority of subscribers belonged to the same branch of High Church Anglicanism as Yonge herself, there is evidence that, as the years progressed, the readership included many families with little interest in church politics, attracted by its non-sermonizing quality, its lively stories, the knowledge that it was safe reading-matter to introduce into any family drawing-room, and, importantly, the opportunities it gave for further learning. In 1873, in response to the introduction of public examinations for girls, she launched an Essay Society. Questions on history, literature, science and maths were set; members sent in their answers to be appraised. By the 1880s this had expanded into a variety of discussion forums, essay competitions, and study groups – new methods of fulfilling the magazine’s founding objectives.

Wilbers, Usha (Radboud University Nijmegen) and Dekkers, Odin (Radboud University Nijmegen)

“New standards for criticism: The *Pall Mall Gazette* and the campaign against logrolling”

From January 1886 onwards, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, then under the pioneering editorship of W.T. Stead, launched a campaign against “log-rolling”. According to Stead and his fellow-campaigner, the classicist and critic John Churton Collins, the free practice of literary criticism was being threatened more and more by the predominance of the principle of quid pro quo in the literary world. In the article on “ ‘Log-rolling’ in English Letters” that opened the campaign in January 1886, the author (presumably Collins), noted how “the independence of free criticism is reduced to the bondage of mutual admiration”. In the course of the year, the *Gazette* continued to publicize this message in a series of both longer articles and short notices. The campaign reached its culmination in October 1886, when Collins’s notoriously acerbic review of Edmund Gosse’s *From Shakespeare to Pope* in the *Quarterly Review* caused what has been called “the scandal of the year”. The *Gazette*, backing Collins, was quick to place the Gosse-Collins scandal in the context of its anti-log-rolling campaign, and to redouble its efforts to draw attention to the need for a new critical practice.

In this paper, we will analyse the nature and implications of the *Gazette*’s campaign against log-rolling and in favour of a less subjectively motivated critical practice in the light of contemporary discussions about the future of literary criticism. From the 1880s onwards, literary criticism was increasingly perceived as being in a state of crisis. In particular, the question how to deal with the inevitable subjective element in criticism became an increasingly prominent one, as we will demonstrate on the basis of our investigation of contemporary metacritical statements drawn from periodical sources. The paper will also attempt to establish a link with recent discussions about the future of literary criticism, arguing from a Bourdieusian perspective that these are motivated by concerns which are highly recognizable for the present-day student of late-Victorian literary criticism.

Wong, Amy (UCLA)

Thackeray’s Celebrity and Mr.Roundabout’s Communal Talk

In May 1862, an anonymous critic for the *Dublin Review* had these scathing remarks to offer on William Makepeace Thackeray’s role as editor of *Cornhill Magazine*: “He parades the authors of various papers like an auctioneer vaunting his goods, or like a vulgar host who recommends his wine

by telling his guests that it was purchased at a first-rate house” (285). More precisely, the reviewer refers to Thackeray’s editorial persona, Mr. Roundabout, who introduces *Cornhill*’s features to its readers in the first issue as if he were a dinner host proffering nutritious fare. Thackeray, however, likely conceived his persona as an antidote to the crass commercialism that was increasingly associated with the new mass print media (*Cornhill* itself sold an unprecedented 120,000 of its first number). Mr. Roundabout, after all, is idiosyncratic, old-fashioned, and commercially un-savvy. Of his stories, he writes: “[w]hen they are gone to the printer’s these little things become public property” (15). The reviewer nonetheless imagines he has seen through Thackeray’s ruse—Mr. Roundabout is no humble host but rather celebrity- author Thackeray who has opportunistically thrown the weight of his name behind *Cornhill*, even as the practice of anonymous editorship largely remained the norm.

My paper argues that far from acting as an ineffectual mask for Thackeray’s celebrity, Mr. Roundabout brings to the foreground certain democratic and egalitarian notions that actually undergird celebrity. As Nicholas Dames notes in his discussion of Thackeray’s complex engagement with the concept of celebrity throughout his life, the Victorians after the mid century were just beginning to understand how “someone who is a celebrity to one person or group is, within a mass culture, a celebrity to all” (33). This articulation emphasizes the way in which celebrity is a co-creative phenomenon, generated and maintained by both the celebrity himself and his audience. I contend that an important means through which Mr. Roundabout complements such an understanding of Thackeray’s celebrity is his chatty and gossipy style. In my view, Mr. Roundabout’s speech patterns constitute Thackeray’s attempt to co-opt everyday talk’s openly interactive, co-creative properties. Specifically, I am borrowing the critical notion of co-creation from current studies in linguistic anthropology that describe the way in which talk—even the most mundane forms such as dinner conversation among family—involves formally complex negotiations among different participants. Thackeray repeatedly figures Mr. Roundabout as an individual with very little control of what he talks about, as if he leaves it up to others. Mr. Roundabout, consistent with his name, picks up subjects at random, even characterizing his own stories as “inevitable” (14). There is a sense, overall, that Mr. Roundabout lacks controlling authorial direction and prefers to take up whatever talk might be circulating around him. His open talk, therefore, is the formal expression that enables his egalitarian understanding of his stories as “public property.”

Together, Thackeray’s celebrity and Mr. Roundabout’s egalitarianism construct a new model of authorship that abjures control and ownership in favor of co-creation and collectivity. The logic of possessing that which belongs to no one and to everyone—central to both a new, mass market phenomenon and to a form of language as seemingly fundamental as talk— powerfully unites these two very different figures, one modern and astute in commercial matters, and the other behind-the-scenes and oblivious before the workings of the literary marketplace. Significantly, through their union, Thackeray imagines a way in which he might achieve mass- market success while simultaneously disavowing that he sells anything at all

Yeandle, Peter (University of Manchester)

W.T. Stead versus the ‘dictator of London’: the press, the police and the portrayal of protest in late-Victorian London.

“Not one, not one, nor thousands must they slay/ But one and all if they would dusk the day”:

These words, from William’s Morris’s *Death Song*, were sung at the funeral of Arthur Linnell in December 1887. Linnell had been trampled to death by police horses during what became known as “Bloody Sunday”, a demonstration in Trafalgar Square the previous month. Linnell’s funeral was attended by hundreds of thousands. The radical Christian Socialist, Stewart Duckworth Headlam, led the cortege and presided over the ceremony. Pallbearers included Cunningham-Grahame, Annie Besant, W.T. Stead, Herbert Burrows, Frank Smith and Morris himself. The hearse carried the words ‘Killed in Trafalgar Square’. A penny-pamphlet with the words of *Death Song* was sold on the day as well as published in advance in Stead’s *Pall Mall Gazette* and the radical press. Police anticipated

against further civil disobedience, and planned accordingly. Conservative papers balked at the prospect of further ‘mob’ violence. Radical papers encouraged mass participation. Reports suggested the procession of two hundred thousand sang the *Death Song* in unison. How could a song, so radically anti-establishment in general and the police in particular, strike such a common chord with such a diverse range of mourners?

The answer, I think, can be explained by the role of the press in both responding to Linnell’s death and advertising the funeral. Whereas much has been written on Bloody Sunday itself, less has been said on Linnell’s funeral – which seems a curious omission since estimates suggest far more attended the funeral than the previous months’ demonstrations. By using the press to reconstruct the days between Linnell’s death and his funeral, I want to offer some comments on how demonstrators, mourners and critics of the police perceived and represented police action: in particular, critiques of decisions taken to deploy the army and mounted police against protestors. One distinct theme emerges, which suggests a significant challenge to established modes of reporting not only political dissent but critiques of the police. Stead led a campaign to undermine the authority of the Chief Police Commissioner, General Sir Charles Warren. Warren, most commonly known for his resignation over the failure to apprehend Jack the Ripper, was dubbed ‘the dictator of London’. Stead had already written against Warren on the grounds that Warren had banned public assembly in Trafalgar Square. But now Warren was held personally accountable, not only for Linnell’s death, but the hundreds of serious injuries received by both protestors and police in the demonstrations of November ’87. Moreover, the *Pall Mall Gazette* and other papers, outraged that the subsequent inquest into Linnell’s death had ignored the evidence of protestors and declared ‘death by accident’, put the police on trial: witness statements were published and opinion pieces written by participants. The daily press, however, held Warren in high regard and praised his decision to suspend the public right to gather in London’s squares. This was a debate depicted not only as one about the freedom of assembly but the freedom of information. As such, it prompts interesting questions about the relationship between the press, public attitudes to the police and the history of protest itself.

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A “duty” to “tabulate and record”: Emma Hardinge Britten as Periodical Editor and Spiritualist Historian in *Unseen Universe* (1892-93)

In April 1892, shortly after Emma Hardinge Britten had discontinued her popular spiritualist periodical *Two Worlds*, she launched *Unseen Universe*, a periodical with a similar aim—to present spiritualism (communication with the deceased through mediums to reconcile the loss of loved ones) in a favorable light. In the first issue, Britten presented herself as a “caterer” for the public’s “amusement and instruction,” eager to renew this role after the demise of *Two Worlds* (Britten, “Introductory” 1), but she also presented herself as a historian of the spiritualist movement, someone who had “a vast collection of Spiritualistic records” and a “duty” to “tabulate and record the events which have marked the wonderful movement” (2).

Britten’s use of history to present the key principles of spiritualism in *Unseen Universe* is the focus of this paper, which contrasts Britten’s rhetorical approach to that of other spiritualist editors, including Julia Schlesinger, editor of *The Carrier Dove* (1884-1893), and James Burns, editor of *Medium and Daybreak* (1870-95). Like Schlesinger and Burns, Britten’s main goal was to present spiritualism as a movement committed to particular principles, about which most spiritualists agreed. Yet, while Schlesinger articulated these principles by emphasizing women’s roles in the movement and Burns presented these principles by using pre-industrial labor metaphors to appeal to his provincial audience, Britten was primarily concerned with recording past events in the movement, as a way to validate the current activities of spiritualists.

One of the primary ways Britten used history to advance spiritualist principles in *Unseen Universe* was through a regular column, “Historical Spiritualism,” which laid out an alternative narrative about spiritualism to that provided by traditional Christianity. My paper will show how Britten constructed this alternative narrative in this serial, which ran for five months before abruptly concluding when

Britten contracted bronchitis and had to stop writing and lecturing in order to recover her health (Anonymous, "Special Notice" 478). I will show that Britten continually asserts her own status as "spiritualist historian," in contrast to the "historians" of the Church, whom she believed distorted spiritualist activities by labeling them as "witchcraft," while still accepting spiritual occurrences through the concept of "miracles" (Britten, "Historical Spiritualism. Chapter V." 219).

By examining Britten's use of history in this serial, we can see how Britten positively presented the spiritualist movement in multiple forms of media, even as her approach differed from that of other editors of spiritualist periodicals. While critics such as Robert Mathiesen, in *The Unseen Worlds of Emma Hardinge Britten* (2001), and Molly McGarry, in *Ghosts of Futures Past* (2008), have acknowledged Britten's commitment to spiritualist history, they simply note that she wrote books about this history, such as *Modern American Spiritualism* (1870). They do not provide analysis of how she used history in her periodicals to present herself as the primary historian of the movement, while this paper shows the centrality of the spiritualist periodical in presenting the principles of spiritualism to nineteenth-century readers.